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ABSTRACT

In recognition of the national problem posed by a spiraling crime rate and the need to reduce the rate of recidivism, the program's primary purpose was to test and demonstrate the effectiveness of providing intensive vocational rehabilitation services to federal offenders at specified states in the correctional process. Out of a random selection of 2,654 cases, 623 finally were used in the experimental group and 601 in the control group. The client population was drawn from the releases and probationers under the supervision of seven offices of the U.S. Probation Service, and from inmates initially confined at three of the institutions operated by the U.S. Bureau of Prisons. This report indicates that offender populations are ample resources for potential vocational rehabilitation clients and that a substantial percentage can be rehabilitated. It also reflects the difficulties encountered in this attempt to assess the impact of intensive rehabilitation services in addition to those already offered by federal corrections. (Author/BH)

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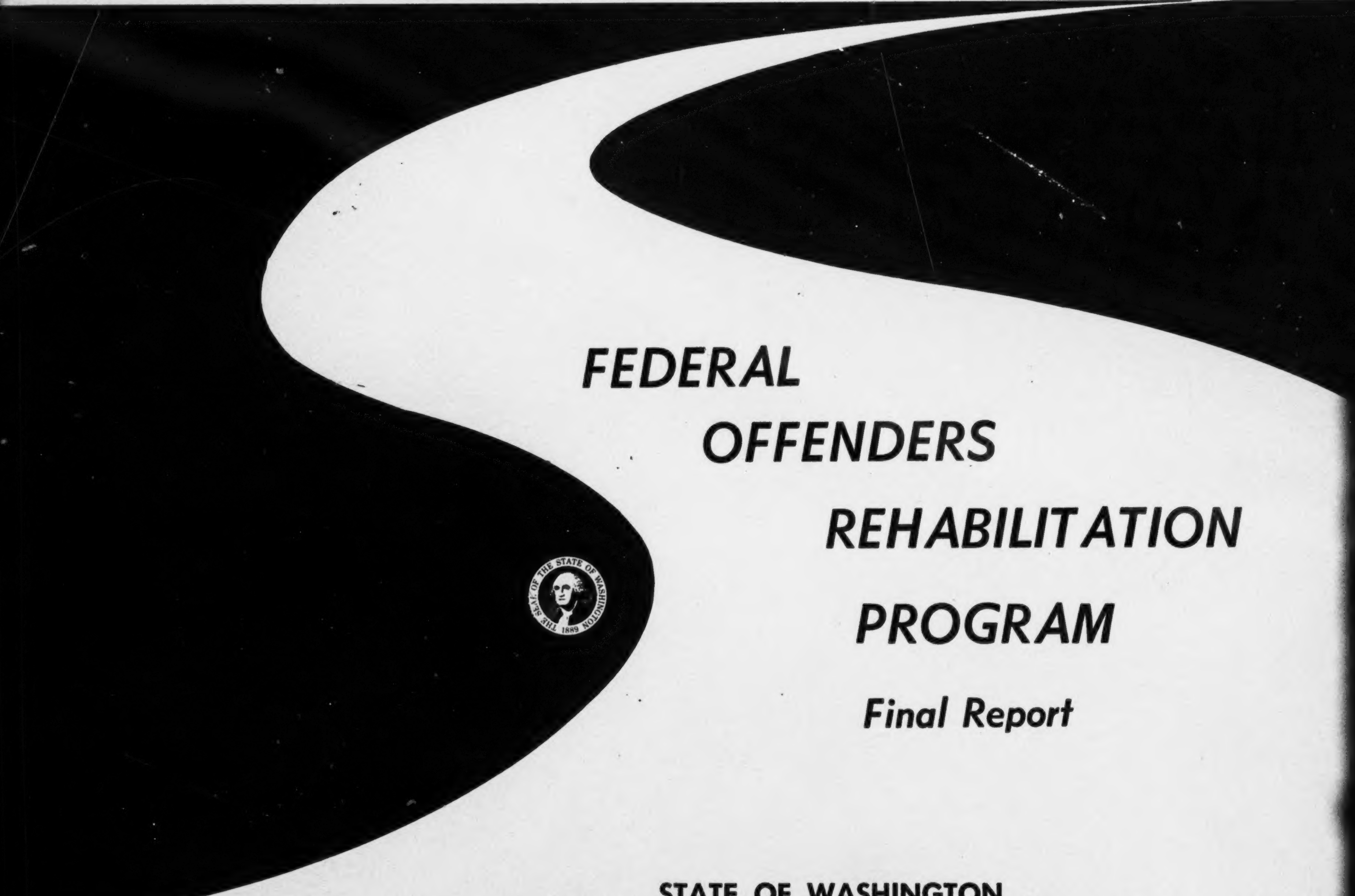
A FUTURE FOR CORRECTIONAL REHABILITATION?



FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

Final Report

STATE OF WASHINGTON
COORDINATING COUNCIL FOR OCCUPATIONAL EDUCATION
DIVISION OF VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

THE LAST NIGHT

George Fraleigh

It wasn't so bad while the lights were on. He could pace up and down, making his legs tired, hoping he'd be able to sleep, but knowing he was only kidding himself. He could walk his legs off up to his knees and there would be no sleep for him on his last night.

The lights went out the way they always do in prison, with something akin to a mild shock to him. One minute there was light, then there was darkness, no click of light switch as a warning, just the sudden transition from light to dark, and it still was able to shake him up, even after all the nights that had gone by.

He stopped his restless pacing and sat on the edge of the bed. Even in stocking feet he might get a rumble from the guy in the cell below. Prisoners are sensitive to even the faint vibration from barefoot pacing on the floor above them and he didn't want to set the joint off into a bedlam of angry shouting and cursing. Not on his last night in this world. Might as well go out with a few good words behind him instead of shouted invective.

He remained on the bed until the steel edge cutting into the underside of his legs stopped the blood and his feet began to feel numb, then prickled with a thousand needle points as he stood up and silently jiggled first one foot, then the other in the air, shaking off the numbness the way he was trying to shake off the terror which was hovering silently over his head, waiting for the morning to pounce.

He walked to the barred front of the cell and leaned his hot forehead against the cold steel. Funny how it was always cold, winter and summer the bars were always cold. The cement walls, too, they never warmed up. His hands came up and grasped the bars above his head as high as he could reach while his eyes sought to pierce the darkness over the water that surrounded the island prison.

A tug with red and white running lights fore and aft hove into view, the sound of its diesels a faint chug-chug in the distance, and a few minutes later low lying lights followed, seeming to be riding on top of the water. He knew they were the riding lights on a huge log raft which the tug was towing to the mill. He'd looked out the same window in the daylight and watched the tugs as they strained against the current with their log rafts, fighting, inch by inch it seemed, to master the powerful pull of the tide sweeping relentlessly in from the ocean.

The tug and its raft disappeared and he turned wearily away and sought the refuge of his bed, covering his burning eyes with his arms, trying to shut out even the blackness of his cell, trying to escape the spectre which haunted the darkness. Tomorrow it would be all over. They'd come for him early, he knew, they always came early so they could get it over with and go on with their daily routine. They'd walk him down the long corridor, one on each side of him, through the door at the end and there it would be, waiting. He wondered if he could go quietly and expressionlessly the way most of the others went. He hoped so. It wouldn't do any good to make a fuss. Tomorrow morning was his last day and he had to go and all the fighting and screaming and dragging his feet wouldn't change a thing.

He wondered how severe the shock would be. Pretty bad, the way he heard it told, but it only lasted an instant, they said. Maybe the pain came later. He'd never talked to anyone about that though, he'd never seen anyone who'd come back. He was starting to sweat now, could feel the runnels of sticky perspiration coursing down his face, trickling off his chest, sliding down his legs. He leaped off the bed in sudden panic, stood on the cold floor, felt the icy cement through the soles of his stockings, fought the trembling that wracked his body like an attack of ague. Then reason took over, he sank back onto the bed and stared wide-eyed at the ceiling. He wanted a cigarette but he knew what it would taste like, hot and acrid in his feverish mouth, so he fought down the craving while he tried to recall events which had led up to this last night. Everything was a confused jumble in his mind and he couldn't sort out the pieces. It had all started too long ago and too many things had happened between then and now, and anyway, all that mattered was that in a few hours he'd be walking down that long, long corridor and through that door. They'd take his prison clothes off him and give him new ones, fresh and clean, and then they'd walk with him through the last door and down the road, put him on the boat, then, turn around and walk away, and he'd be all alone in the free world, all alone.

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COORDINATING COUNCIL FOR OCCUPATIONAL EDUCATION
DIVISION OF VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION
Post Office Box 528
Olympia, Washington 98501

E. M. OLIVER, Director

A FUTURE FOR CORRECTIONAL REHABILITATION?

FINAL REPORT

FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

A collaborative research study testing the feasibility and effectiveness of providing rehabilitation services to federal offenders through eight projects in seven states

Percy B. Bell
Program Director

Mrs. Merlyn Matthews
Research Director

W. Scott Fulton
Editor

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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November 1969

MAJOR FINDINGS

No significant differences were identified between treatment clients and controls with reference to either recidivism or overall employment. This study cannot show positive impact on the performance of the public offender. However, some combinations of offender characteristics and treatment did indicate positive employment impact. There is a great need for refinement of research techniques to identify the positive values in correctional rehabilitation.

FINDINGS APPLICABLE TO FUTURE CORRECTIONAL REHABILITATION PROGRAMS

Eighty-one per cent of the experimentals were provided service and 42 per cent were closed successfully. Public offenders can be served profitably by vocational rehabilitation. Correctional rehabilitation units with one or more counselors would be needed at most U. S. Bureau of Prisons' institutions and U. S. Probation Offices if rehabilitation needs of offenders are to receive appropriate attention.

Special research is needed to determine the appropriateness of using VR procedures and facilities in connections with pre-sentence investigations.

Since the employment of standard referral systems and feasibility evaluations greatly reduces the number of potential rehabilitations, eligibility for rehabilitation should be automatically established on the basis of conviction alone.

The rehabilitative needs of public offenders require more extensive evaluation. Techniques for assessing these needs should be developed and, where possible, standardized for an offender population.

In working with public offenders, it is important to begin services early, preferably at the point of initial contact, without the delay inherent in most casework process systems. Conquest of attitudinal problems is an important emphasis in offender rehabilitation. Public offenders require supportive medical services, most of which are for inter-current illness or adjustment therapy.

Maintenance is the purchased service most frequently needed by public offenders, often for the support of dependents as well as clients. The offender client and his family should be treated as a unit, rather than services being provided to the client alone.

Emergency services must be flexible and provided expeditiously at the point of need.

The process of correctional rehabilitation is long and complex and generally requires more counselor involvement, both in time and variety, than does working with the physically disabled.

Potential public offender clients who express an unwillingness to avail themselves of vocational rehabilitation services still pose a challenge to correctional rehabilitation; new methods toward inspiring motivation need to be developed.

FINDINGS APPLICABLE TO COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH

Collaborative research can be a successful tool in developing innovative, exploratory and coordinated programs across agency and disciplinary lines.

Although evaluative research routinely follows the desire to implement new action programs, research planning and specificity should be given attention as early as possible to insure the effectiveness of research controls. Exploration and pretest should be an integral part of the planning period.

Representatives from the separate units of a collaborative research project should be involved in the preparation of a comprehensive plan. In collaborative research there needs to be emphasis on new program approaches and innovative philosophy.

Special grant provisions need to be acknowledged by the state agency accepting such a grant. If any of these provisions are legally impossible, the granting authority should be so notified in advance.

Central control of satellite projects is required in order to reduce unnecessary variations between projects.

Central control of funds is required to maximize their usefulness.

This report is dedicated to the Public Offender,

not out of perversity, or even whimsy, but because of the knowledge he has afforded us in his unique struggles toward rehabilitation.

FOREWORD

"We are all victims of crime. We all pay the cost – in high prices – in higher taxes – in lost productivity – in wasted lives. The criminal justice system alone cannot solve the crime problem in America."

The above quote is from a 1969 National Council on Crime and Delinquency publication. Similar statements have been made by many people in and out of the criminal justice system. Changes in treatment have taken place in recent years; however experts in the field recognize the necessity of supplementing the system which currently has the task of rehabilitating the offender.

The State of Washington undertook the Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program to help search out those services that might be available through the established federal-state rehabilitation agency. Some positive and some negative findings have resulted and many gray areas yet to be researched have been identified. More study is required to test further the positive findings and to look for new approaches in rehabilitation. This testing should take place now on a broad scale by the introduction of several comprehensive statewide correctional rehabilitation programs using the facilities and personnel available from state vocational rehabilitation agencies.

In this report, some possible techniques are suggested. We lay no claim to having found the only means of rehabilitating offenders. We do believe we have learned much that will point the way for others to continue the search and we do believe the search should go on.

E. M. Oliver
State Director
Division of Vocational Rehabilitation

PREFACE

"Correctional Rehabilitation," using facilities and personnel of the Social and Rehabilitation Service nationally and state vocational rehabilitation agencies locally, is in its infancy. During the past decade a few states have undertaken experiments, demonstrations and a limited amount of research with the offender population. These efforts merely scratched the surface of the gigantic problem of how to salvage the lost manpower that has become involved in crime.

The Federal Offender Rehabilitation Program was conceived as a massive coordinated effort to uncover the problems in correctional rehabilitation and to propose some solutions.

This effort, defined as "collaborative research," was described during the planning phase as follows: "A centrally planned and coordinated group of projects studying a problem in vocational rehabilitation common to all or several states which requires a broad-scale attack not feasible in a single project." This was more than inter-agency or inter-disciplinary coordination; it was a central design and concept applied to several projects over a specific period of time. Each of these projects has prepared a final report of its own. These reports have an amazing commonality of subjective conclusions, given the diversity of techniques and services used by the eight projects. This is indicated by such statements as:

> "The client sees his need as urgent, vital and immediate,"
>
> hence,
>
> "immediate assistance must be forthcoming or the offender will be lost."
>
> "The client and his family should be treated as a unit,"
>
> hence,
>
> "minor services to the family of qualified clients should be authorized and encouraged."

This report, though, is a compilation of the data from all projects. It is also a critique of the collaborative process and as such provides much historical data on the relationships operating within the program. The opportunity to seriously examine collaboration was a peripheral but valuable benefit of the FOR program. As a result we believe that the collaborative approach, unique in VR research, has much merit; as a research technique, it was used successfully in the FOR program.

As collaborative research, this study was to identify needs of a selected group of federal offenders and to study the means necessary to meet these needs to the extent that the offender would no longer seek non-legal means of gratification. The sample was limited to federal offenders in order to reduce, somewhat, the many variables involved in a national study. Nonetheless, it was a mixed blessing.

Even with the above limitation, four federal agencies and seven state vocational rehabilitation agencies were involved in the eight-project program. This combination developed a study with a great many variables, making the measurement of the effectiveness of any one service or procedural method quite difficult, if not often impossible. This lack of clear-cut results may be disappointing to some of our readers. To others, this will be a challenge to expand the much needed research on specific procedures, methods and services. Neither time nor funds were available for this program to explore all the possible uses of this material.

The authors have reported findings as objectively as possible. The conclusions and opinions expressed herein are not to be considered as official statements of any of the four federal agencies or seven state agencies involved in this study.

The raw and computerized data from this program are stored with the Center for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Washington, D. C. and are available for further study. The director of that Center should be contacted for details concerning data use.

But more should be done than re-examine FOR data. Because of the exploratory nature of FOR, no hypotheses were originally proposed. The results of FOR now do permit such hypotheses. We hope that many research projects will be undertaken, using FOR findings to achieve greater specificity and control for extraneous variations. Just as research projects in physical medicine and other fields are built on past findings, it is now time for research in correctional rehabilitation to build on the past of FOR.

Percy B. Bell, Program Director
Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The FOR Program simply could not have become a reality and could not have been carried through to its conclusion without the cooperation and dedication of many people, a number of whom are listed under Program Staff. Singling out a few individuals for special appreciation poses the risk of overlooking important contributions made by others. We wish to publicly express our sincere gratitude to all those who were ever associated with the experiment and to assure them that their contributions have not gone unnoticed or unappreciated.

The often overwhelming complexities of initiating and conducting a collaborative, long-term social research project of national scope would have caused us to falter many times throughout the four years of the Program had it not been for the whole-hearted support, encouragement and counsel received from a host of national figures.

We are most gratified to the following individuals from the U. S. Bureau of Prisons:

Myrl Alexander, Director, U. S. Bureau of Prisons
James V. Bennett, former Director, U. S. Bureau of Prisons
John J. Galvin, former Assistant Director, U. S. Bureau of Prisons
H. G. Moeller, Assistant Director, U. S. Bureau of Prisons

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Glenn Petty, Former Assistant Chief of Probation
Victor H. Evjen, Assistant Chief of Probation

We are certainly indebted to these persons from the U. S. Board of Parole:

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And, of course, no attempt at acknowledgment could possibly be complete without noting the substantive guidance furnished by the following administrative personnel of the Social and Rehabilitation Service:

Miss Mary Switzer, Administrator, Social and Rehabilitation Service
Richard Grant, Executive Secretary, National Advisory Council on Rehabilitation Services
Loren Helberg, former Executive Secretary to the National Advisory Council on Research Grants and Demonstrations
Dr. William Usdane, Chief, Division of Research Grants and Demonstrations
Nathan E. Acree, Executive Secretary for General Research, Division of Research Grants and Demonstrations

Our thanks go to the many state vocational rehabilitation administrators who saw to it that the eight projects were appropriately coordinated and supervised in the seven states. Among these was the late Dr. A. P. Jarrell, Assistant Superintendent of Schools for Rehabilitation Services, State of Georgia. Shortly after World War II, he had encouraged vocational rehabilitation participation in the correctional process by assigning vocational rehabilitation counselors to the U. S. Penitentiary in Atlanta, and this experience in Georgia had much to do with the directions taken in our research effort.

Dr. Rodolfo Alvarez, Department of Sociology, Yale University, was the chief architect of the FOR research design and has continued to provide valuable advice in the area of experimental analysis. Dr. Clarence C. Schrag and Dr. Herbert Costner, both of the Department of Sociology, University of Washington, were consultants to the Program and assisted greatly in analyzing theoretical research problems. Dr. Thomas Steinburn, Department of Sociology, University of Washington, wrestled many nights to program and computerize the multiplicity of complicated data. Dr. Daniel Glaser, Department of Sociology, University of Illinois, assisted during the early phases of our Program.

Whenever one group of clients is provided services and another group is prohibited service, as in the experimental and control groups associated with social research, both clients and staff members are often disturbed. The FOR Program was no exception, particularly in its early months. In spite of this problem, both the intensive and control groups were very cooperative in providing additional information and answers to the many questionnaires that were administered for research purposes. We wish to thank them for this assistance. We also wish to thank the many probation officers and institutional personnel who helped maintain the conditions of research in each project, even as they wished FOR services could be provided to selected control clients.

The efforts of all the planners and supporters would have come to little avail had it not been for the FOR counselors, to whom the field experiment was primarily entrusted. Bombarded by new experiences, harassed by untraditional pressures, introduced to alien surroundings, and commissioned to prospect toward an unknown future, they bore the brunt of the anxieties and frustrations inherent in face-to-face contact with the unique problems of public offenders. Since their efforts also provided most of the statistical data on which this report is based, we are deeply grateful to them.

To one counselor in particular we owe a special debt of gratitude; Scott Fulton's unique abilities as an editor have been of invaluable assistance in preparing this final report. May his word bank be everlastingly replenished! Our grateful thanks also go to the Georgia Office of Rehabilitation Services for releasing him from his regular tasks for this purpose.

We wish also to express our appreciation for the technical assistance provided by Mrs. Mary Lira, Washington State Department of Printing, in the publication of this report.

Finally, without the assistance of our able and conscientious staff, our many drawers of data would not have been filed, let alone coded, keypunched, corrected, computerized, analyzed, written-up, and typed. Even more than their technical efforts, we appreciate their humanistic ability to have a good time while performing their tasks.

Percy B. Bell	Mrs. Merlyn Matthews
Program Director	Research Director

STAFF

Percy B. Bell, Program Director
Mrs. Merlyn Matthews, Research Director
*J. Eldon Mincks, Coordinator, U. S. Courts
Claude C. Pangborn, Program Observer
Clarence C. Schrag, Ph.D., Program Consultant (Department of Sociology, University of Washington)
Herbert L. Costner, Ph.D., Program Consultant (Department of Sociology, University of Washington)
Thomas W. Steinburn, Ph.D., Program Consultant (Department of Sociology, University of Washington)
Rodolfo Alvarez, Ph.D., Program Consultant (Department of Sociology, Yale University)
Mrs. Donna Steinburn, Research Analyst
Mrs. Susan Kachel, Assistant Research Analyst
Mrs. Mikel Sheets, Secretary
Beverly Tabuchi, Secretary (December 1967-May 1968)
Mrs. Jacqueline Kuehne, Secretary (September 1966-November 1967)
Mrs. Olive Woodruff, Secretary (November 1965-September 1966)
Mrs. Marjorie Olmsted, Statistician
Mrs. Eve Hoffman, Coder
Mrs. Patricia Heese, Statistical Clerk
Mrs. Nancy Skulka, Statistical Clerk (November 1967-June 1968)
Donald Payne, Statistical Clerk (May 1967-October 1967)

*Mr. Mincks, Chief U. S. Probation Officer, Western Washington Judicial District, served in this capacity without cost to the Program.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS

N. Frank Noren, Chief of Extended Services, DVR, State of Washington
Cecil A. Price, Supervisor, Correctional Rehabilitation Services, DVR, State of Washington
Edward G. Grindrod, VR Specialist and Assistant Project Director (November 1965-Spring 1967)
Harold Fish, District Supervisor, DVR, State of Washington
J. Eldon Mincks, Chief U. S. Probation Officer, Western Washington District
Mel Tennison, Chief Classification and Parole Officer, U. S. Penitentiary, McNeil Island
Earle Bay, U. S. Bureau of Prisons (Retired)
David H. Gronewold, Professor, School of Social Work, University of Washington
Eugene Mochizuki, Assistant Professor, School of Social Work, University of Washington

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ABSTRACT

The Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program was a national cooperative research and demonstration effort involving the Social Rehabilitation Service (formerly Vocational Rehabilitation Administration), the U. S. Probation Service, the U. S. Bureau of Prisons, the U. S. Board of Parole and seven state vocational rehabilitation agencies. National Program Headquarters was established in Seattle, Washington, and eight satellite projects were located in the following cities: Atlanta, Georgia; Chicago, Illinois; Denver, Colorado; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; San Antonio, Texas; Seattle, Washington (in addition to Program Headquarters); Springfield, Illinois and Tampa, Florida.

Following a formal planning period that extended from April 1, 1965 through October 31, 1965, the program became operational under Vocational Rehabilitation Administration Grant No. RD-2079G on November 1, 1965, and field activities were terminated as designed on February 28, 1969. Research analysis was completed in November, 1969.

In recognition of the national problem posed by a spiraling crime rate and the need to reduce the rate of recidivisim, the program's primary purpose was to test and demonstrate the effectiveness of providing intensive vocational rehabilitation services to federal offenders at specified stages in the correctional process.

Placed by random selection into experimental and control groups, a total of 2,654 cases were monitored. Because of technical difficulties described in the body of the report, only 1,224 of that number entered final analysis, 623 having been assigned to the experimental group and 601 to the control group. The client population was drawn from the releasees and probationers under the supervision of seven offices of the U. S. Probation Service and from the inmates initially confined at three of the institutions operated by the U. S. Bureau of Prisons.

The program operated under a basic concept that areas essentially innovative to the traditional concerns of vocational rehabilitation need to be explored if patterns of criminal behavior are to be interrupted.

In brief, this report indicates that offender populations are ample resources for potential vocational rehabilitation clients and that a substantial percentage can be "rehabilitated" according to current vocational rehabilitation measurements. It also reflects the difficulties encountered in this attempt to assess the impact of "intensive" vocational rehabilitation services in addition to those already offered by federal corrections. It concludes with the hope that others will specifically profit from the present findings and adopt certain conclusions as a base for further exploration.

CHAPTER 1 IN THE BEGINNING . . .

Aside from the humanitarian aspect inherent in the rehabilitation movement, the major impetus for creating the Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program emerged from the complimentary needs of vocational rehabilitation agencies and federal corrections: vocational rehabilitation was eager to develop a new source of clientele and had developed the resourcefulness to serve it, while corrections had an abundance of clients but insufficient community resources to meet their needs. The resulting alliance produced a four-partner relationship composed of the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration (now Social and Rehabilitation Service) and three federal correctional agencies, the U. S. Bureau of Prisons, the U. S. Probation Service and the U. S. Board of Parole. As a national collaborative research and demonstration effort involving eight satellite projects in seven state vocational rehabilitation agencies, the primary purpose of the FOR Program was to test and demonstrate the effectiveness of providing intensive vocational rehabilitation services to federal offenders at specified stages in the correctional process. Since a focus upon the research aspects of the study was preceded by the desire to initiate field activity, many basic research decisions were made by administrative planners before research specialists became involved.

During the seven months of the planning stage, in succession, three months were devoted to selecting the satellite project sites, two months were awarded to developing the research design, and another two months were occupied in finding a permanent research director and planning an initial inter-agency orientation conference. In the midst of all this activity, the architects of the study neglected to specify treatment strategy in the research design. Instruments for measuring improvement in client performance as a result of treatment were also omitted. Instead, indices for determining success emerged. These were absolute rather than relative criteria and as such they lacked an appropriate degree of sensitivity. Traditional vocational rehabilitation requirements for establishing client eligibility were replaced by a system of assigning clients to experimental and control groups by random selection. The decision to employ this procedure, which denied the prerogative of case screening by conventional standards, promptly resulted in the withdrawal of several prospective projects, and replacements had to be recruited. The formal planning phase lasted from April 1, 1965 to November 1, 1965, when the FOR Program became operational.

CHAPTER I IN THE BEGINNING . . .

A GLEAM IN ITS FOUNDERS' EYES – 1963

Incongruous as it may seem, we must rely on memory in order to reconstruct the beginnings of the Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program. Legend has it that the whole thing was generated spontaneously during an interagency luncheon in Washington, D. C., early in 1963. However, because no one was posted to record the minutes of this unrehearsed convergence, or any other like it at first, our exact point of origin cannot be verified. In any event, it is difficult to establish spatial relationships for an idea at best. Then, too, since the FOR Program throughout its course was not without elements of happenstance, an elusive beginning somehow seems appropriate.

This much can be assumed. A growing popular atmosphere favoring penal reform, which Myrl Alexander, now Director of the U. S. Bureau of Prisons, was soon to describe as a "national ferment,"[1] coupled with vocational rehabilitation's latent desire to serve the socially handicapped made dialogue between federal corrections and vocational rehabilitation inevitable.

Regardless of how the introductions were made, once they were accomplished, cooperative growth was generally assured. These agencies, which had previously been separately occupied with their own philosophies, were pre-ordained to cooperate. To better understand this affinity among theretofore diverse programs, we should briefly review the concept of work: its place in the mainstream of society and the various interpretations placed upon it by American corrections and vocational rehabilitation, all of which developed into the collective attitude we have today.

Work's place in society has remained relatively clear throughout United States history. It is a means of survival, of self-improvement and of gaining access to a favorable immortality. It is a national contention that work dignifies man. Despite the ever-popular declaration of a desire to quit and go fishing, Americans are by and large dedicated to work and expect their associates to be equally devoted. In our society we even permit what purports to be play to often become, in fact, work. On the other hand, it does seem apparent that the younger generation insists that work should be play, i.e., something of choice rather than obligation, that work should not be performed specifically for its own sake but should include some form of self-actualization. However, this perspective has not yet prevailed, and most Americans continue to view the spectacle of wasted or unused manpower with alarm.

Yet such wastage was allowed to flourish out-of-sight and out-of-mind behind our prison walls for fourteen decades. In American penal systems, work has been withheld from inmates so penance could be done; it has assumed the make-work form of treadmills and rock piles to punish and occupy prisoners who might otherwise cause trouble. Even convict labor, on road gangs or prison farm crews, a form of work designed to finance the very systems that hold the workers captive, had often proved to be uneconomical for the captors[2] and not strictly a means of self-improvement for the captives.[3] Imperceptibly at first, this state of affairs began to change about thirty or forty years ago and to converge with free society's concept of work. The thought was resurrected, and actually implemented in isolated pockets of enlightenment, that prison work, transformed to self-productive labor, might be conceived as a means of preparing criminals for release to the free world and possibly even to a non-criminal way of life. Although the inspiration was praiseworthy, it was scarcely new; the idea had been around for a long time. For example, Thomas Baker, Visiting Magistrate to Gloucester Prison, made the following statement in 1859: ". . .to work a cure on the prisoner, he must not only be punished, not only be taught, but he should be prepared for freedom by gradually being

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[1] **Unpublished Alexander lectures given at Pacific Lutheran University, Tacoma, Washington, Spring 1966. Myrl Alexander was then and is now the Director of the U. S. Bureau of Prisons.**

[2] **South Carolina's growing correctional rehabilitation program can be partly attributed to such a realization. Mechanical road maintenance replaced convict road gangs, creating tremendous pressure on the main prisons as convicts off the road gangs moved in from small camps. South Carolina corrections turned to vocational rehabilitation for assistance in preparing men for earlier release. For a report on this endeavor, see: South Carolina Vocational Rehabilitation Department, *Rehabilitating Public Offenders,* Final Report of R-D Grant No. 1709-G (Columbia, South Carolina: 1968).**

[3] **In fact, as E. Goffman illustrates, although willingness to work may be taken by the prison and some prisoners as evidence of self-improvement, it is more likely to involve "secondary adjustments," i.e., "any habitual arrangement by which a member of an organization employs unauthorized means, or obtains unauthorized ends, or both, thus getting around the organization's assumptions as to what he should do and get and hence what he should be." *Asylums* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1961), pp. 90, 189, 210, 286.**

brought into such a state as he is likely to find himself in when discharged . . . [and] should be, if possible, provided with means of living honestly . . ."[4]

When the American penal reformers of the Thirties found a greater number of prisoners to be woefully without stable work experience or skill, they determined that the utilization of the prisoners' existing talents in programs of work adjustment was unrealistic in most cases. The conclusion was drawn that vocational training, either formal or of the "on-the-job" variety, would have to be instigated. Naturally, there were those cautious prison administrators who correctly pointed out that training would cost money, and the question was then posed as to whether or not criminals merited such benefits.

However, a few English and American penologists persisted in the contention that enhancing the transition from incarceration to competitive society through the medium of work would effect a reduction in recidivism and thereby save society money in the long run. When that idea became linked with the older notion of inmates supporting penal institutions through their own labor, the prison training system got underway. In such fashion, auto mechanics is taught through the maintenance of prison vehicles. But even today the over-all prison system is a mixed bag of no work, of "busy" work, of work to physically maintain its institutions and of work to rehabilitate the criminal.

Developing concurrently with a more enlightened shift in focus upon prison labor was the notion that some offenders shouldn't be in prison at all; the first manifestations of this idea were probation and parole, very recently followed by half-out programs such as work release. All of these programs are closely tied to the societal view of work as a primary factor in man's life. The institution of probation developed in the mid-1800's under the assumption that maintaining selected convicted criminals in the free community, but under the threat of revocation to incarceration, was a more effective way of deterring them from committing further crime than locking them up, severing their community relations, and creating blank periods in their work histories. Today, one of the first considerations in granting probation appears to be the stability of an offender's work history.[5]

Parole, a system of releasing selected prisoners to community supervision before completion of their sentences, developed at approximately the same time as probation. Although the basic parole theory is laudable, one questionable prerequisite toward securing this type of discharge is that applicants must have jobs waiting for them in the community.[6] This requirement, as such, is increasingly seen as unrealistic since many of these jobs are temporary expedients arranged by relatives or friends on the outside simply to effect the parole plan; and moreover, obtaining outside jobs while still in prisoner status can be exceedingly difficult, particularly for those applicants without free world associates to advocate for employment in their behalf.

Work release, a method receiving wide recognition only recently, began in Wisconsin in 1913 with the passage of the Huber Act.[7] Under this plan the structural controls of penal institutions are coordinated with community release to employment, eight hours of the releasee's day being spent at work and the remainder in prison. Although the setting has changed, the basic idea is much the same as it was in original application to convict road gangs,[8] in the sense that the inmate is exposed to community life. While employment is supposed to be related to the inmate's skill and he is supposedly paid a full wage, he usually must hand over part of his earnings for such items as board, family expenses, prison commissary expense, and savings, leaving only a small remainder over which he has discretionary control.[9]

Although other correctional reforms were also underway in the decades described, few had the persistency of those related to work. While these reforms are now recognized as being to the good, before World War II they were not widely practiced and probably not even known to most practitioners of penology, not to mention the citizenry at large. While it is true that popular interest in crime has been high since Prohibition and the heyday of the gangster era, until recently this curiosity extended only to arrest, conviction, and the pronouncement of sentence. What followed, that is, the correctional process, was traditionally held to be synonymous with punishment as the miscreant received his just desserts and society was avenged. But the fortunes of the released convict, re-entering the free world having paid his historical debt, were of little or no concern since he had made his own bed and should therefore have been prepared to lie in it.

Then the social dynamite of the early Sixties began to detonate throughout the world. The gaps between the "haves" and the "have-nots," between the developed and the underdeveloped, between the administration of justice itself and the maintenance of social order were revealed as open wounds. Finally, and perhaps as a direct spin-off from public education in mental health, it became possible for corrections to effect a major change in philosphy. The traditional emphasis upon retribution and custody turned toward treatment and resocialization, particularly as the latter two related to work, and the more progressive notions of work's rehabilitative effect gained momentum.

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[4] Paper presented by Thomas Barwick Lloyd Baker before England's Social Science Association in 1859, quoted in Gordon Rose, *The Struggle for Penal Reform — The Howard League and Its Predecessors* (London: Stevens and Sons Limited, 1961), p. 23.

[5] The San Francisco Study, for example, indicates it is 5th for probation officers and judges. J. Lohman, A. Wahl, and R. Carter, *The San Francisco Project,* "Research Report No. Five: Presentence Report Recommendations and Demographic Data," (University of California: February 1966), p. 69.

[6] E. H. Sutherland and D. R. Cressey, *Principles of Criminology* (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1960), p. 568, and President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *Task Force Report: Corrections* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 68.

[7] *Task Force Report: Corrections, Ibid.,* p. 11 and Daniel Glaser, *The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System* (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1964), p. 420.

[8] An Irish Warden in the 1850's states this philosophy well: "The employment of selected convicts 'in small bodies on public works under circumstances of exposure to the ordinary temptations and trials of the work, when the reality and sincerity of their reformation may be fairly and publicly tested, will present the most favourable changes for their gradual absorption into the body of the community.' " Rose, *op. cit.,* p. 4.

[9] With the passage of the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1965, signed by President Johnson in September 1965, most federal institutions had work release programs in operation.

If, for the preceding years, only the federal correctional agencies and a mere handful of state institutions could be cited for their pioneering efforts in the rehabilitation of convicted offenders, now the seeds they had planted were being fertilized by public sentiment. Yet, these advanced agencies were still plagued by dilemma; they had neither enough vocational specialists sufficiently trained nor community resources sufficiently developed to substantially implement the theories that they had carefully nourished. Thus began the search for an alliance.

Three federal correctional agencies were to become involved in the FOR Program: the U. S. Bureau of Prisons, the Administrative Office of the U. S. Courts (U. S. Probation Service), and the U. S. Board of Parole. The U. S. Bureau of Prisons, a division of the Department of Justice, is responsible for the federal prison system, housing about 24,000 inmates in 43 institutions[10] (including a medical facility at Springfield, Missouri) ranging from minimum custody institutions like the Federal Youth Center, Englewood, Colorado, to maximum security prisons like the Leavenworth Penitentiary in Kansas. Final authority and policy making is located in the Washington, D. C. office, but as one administrator pointed out, before air travel became readily available, a wardens' conference, let alone meetings of administrative staff groups, was nearly impossible. The field was a long way from the home office and vestiges of that distance remain. Communications can be circuitous and central authority thinly spread in practice. As is true of all prison systems, the federal bureau has so far invested most of its budget in custody, but the proportion has not been entirely from choice. Each institution has a treatment program, varied and tailored by the central bureau staff according to the perceived needs of the inmates assigned to it. Every institution offers some academic courses, and there are fully accredited schools in the youth facilities. All have a small to medium-sized classification and parole (or casework) staff. However, since caseworkers are heavily involved in classification, preparing progress reports and the movement of a myriad of other paper, social work as such does not have much chance to flourish, but some of the institutions are counterbalancing this by training custody staff as para-professional caseworkers. Idleness is uncommon among the inmate populations since almost everyone is expected to work at something. The maximum security institutions, particularly, occupy large percentages of inmates in prison industries, making mailbags, electronic components, etc.[11] Even with its rich, for a prison system, assortment of rehabilitative tools, the Bureau in the early Sixties had a long list of things to try opposed by resources in staff and money barely sufficient to cover what they were already doing. As the Bureau administrators saw it, the biggest problem was evident in the need to transform institutional programs into reasonable facsimiles of the sort of lives they hoped their charges would lead after release.

Approximately 8,000 federal prisoners are paroled each year, their release dates being set by the U. S. Board of Parole. Others are released without supervision upon sentence expiration minus earned good time. The nine Board members are appointed by the President, usually from the ranks of correctional personnel. They travel regularly from one institution to another for the purpose of interviewing prospective parolees. These interviews are, of necessity, brief, but the Board does have the benefit of recommendations prepared by the institutional parole and classification workers as well as the assistance of its own small administrative staff. Final parole decisions are made when the itinerant Board members return to Washington and confer with their colleagues. "A quorum of five members is normally required for a vote relative to parole, but three members of the Youth Division constitute a quorum when voting on cases of youth offenders and juveniles. . . . A majority vote of the quorum constitutes an official Board action."[12] The Board does not sit as a group for this purpose, but vote as individuals. The Board's major area of concern, then, lies in making appropriate decisions as to whether or not parole should be granted, or rescinded, as the case may be. Its only contact with treatment is In effect, its members impose judgment on whether or not rehabilitation has taken place in the cases it reviews. Although the Board retains final authority over its parolees, actual supervision and community rehabilitation is within the purview of the U. S. Probation/Parole Officers, employees of a completely different branch of government. Aside from the final authority over its clients to revoke parole, the Board has only indirect influence over release supervision.

A federal offender released to the free world under some type of supervision receives official community guidance from a U. S. Probation Officer. With a central office in the Administrative Branch of the Federal Court System, the U. S. Probation Service operates field offices in each federal court district. They annually supervise a total of 39-40,000 offenders. Responsible to the central office only for adherence to general policy and receiving in turn personnel allocation and training, these district offices are generally small, usually staffed by a Chief and four or five officers who are all appointed by the district judges. As a servant of the Court, a probation officer devotes 80-85% of his time to the preparation of pre-sentence investigations. The remaining 15% of his time is allotted to 100 or more parolees, mandatory releasees and probationers. This amounts to about 15 minutes a month per client. The probation officer's job is further burdened by the necessity to occasionally act like a policeman to insure that his constituents do not violate conditions of parole or probation. In addition, since they are located in the community, probation officers often are called upon to investigate release plans for the Bureau of Prisons. It is impossible within the limitations of allotted time, and the probation officers know it, to do anything more than selective counseling, normally based on crisis situations.

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[10] U. S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Prisons, *Federal Bureau of Prisons Statistical Tables, Fiscal Year 1965* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office), Table A-1, p. 2.

[11] Under the law, prisons can only sell their products to other governmental agencies. This restrictive law came about as a result of labor and industry's concern with the unfair competition aspects of "free" convict labor. One unanticipated consequence was the limits this legislation also placed on the development of vocational training. For further information, see: *Task Force Report: Corrections, op. cit.*, p. 55.

[12] U. S. Board of Parole, *Functions of the United States Board of Parole* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office), p. 4.

If the rehabilitation of offenders had come to mean something of value to society, the staffs of these three federal correctional agencies (the U. S. Bureau of Prisons, the U. S. Probation Service, and the U. S. Board of Parole) were only too pleased to participate in such a process. They knew they had developed an elaborate system for classifying offenders and that they had become proficient in providing basic protection to society, but they also had the courage to recognize a need for additional expertise and financial support if an effective program of rehabilitation were to be realized. This expertise would be provided by Vocational Rehabilitation, the fourth partner in the alliance.

Vocational Rehabilitation became operational in 1920 with an original mandate to assist wounded veterans of World War I into, or back into, gainful civilian employment. This activity was naturally enough defined as vocational rehabilitation, and since it was, in a sense, educational in nature, its early administration fell under the aegis of the old Federal Board of Education. Through a course of development and specialization over the next twenty years or so, its responsibility eventually fell to a division of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare: the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration (now the Rehabilitation Services Administration). We will frequently use VR (the initials) to denote the whole combine, VRA, all or any of the operative components, and the concept itself. When specific reference is made to the central agency, the initials, VRA, will be employed.

For those unacquainted with vocational rehabilitation, stated briefly in broad terms, its mission is to help disabled persons enter, regain, or retain gainful employment. To be accepted for services, an applicant must have a physical or mental disability, established by a medical or psychological evaluation, serious enough to constitute a vocational handicap; but at the same time, this disability, or a compendium of several disabling conditions, must not be so severe as to preclude reasonable prognosis for eventually entering employment after receiving services.

Assistance is traditionally extended in the following categories: diagnostic procedures; surgery and treatment; prosthetic appliances; hospitalization and convalescent care; training and training materials; maintenance and transportation; tools, equipment and licenses; counseling, guidance and job placement. Over 200,000 clients complete the rehabilitation process each year.

VR has always found its concept of work in the Protestant ethic, simply: work is good and desirable. In the forewords and prefaces to its many publications, VR makes frequent use of such expressions as ". . . assisted toward becoming productive members of society." In less formal presentations, references can often be found to making tax-payers out of tax-consumers, and the claim usually follows that persons rehabilitated save the public coffers more money than was invested in their rehabilitations.

Services are not actually administered by the Rehabilitation Services Administration, but instead are provided by state or district agencies, at the time of this writing, primarily funded 80% by federal money and 20% by appropriation from respective state legislatures. However, in addition to its banking role, RSA (VRA) serves also as custodian of basic administrative guidelines.

Uniformity in principle is insured by a framework of federal regulations, for to qualify for funding, a state agency cannot be more liberal in its programs than the appropriate federal statutes. On the other hand, a state agency can be more narrow in its interpretation of policy and practices, and since it conducts itself in accordance with its own manual of policies, a certain amount of state autonomy exists in execution. In short, what one state might consider to be good practice may be rejected as questionable by its neighbor. This sort of ideological conflict doesn't become apparent often in the course of general VR programs, but when it comes to handling free-wheeling research and demonstrations grants, divergent philosophies have a way of making themselves known. This might be borne in mind in any review of the FOR Program. Although the same theory was designed for all, the various state VR projects who participated in the study frequently bore little resemblance to one another in actual practice.

Close on the heels of soldier rehabilitation, VR opened its doors to civilian victims of industrial accident, but still focused primarily upon orthopedic cases. The major breakthrough came in 1939 with the expansion of services to engulf the full spectrum of physical disabilities. The milestones most pertinent to the present discussion were reached in 1954 when mental retardation and emotional illness were added to the lexicon of eligible impairments and research and demonstration grants were made possible. It followed that by the early 1960's, VR had turned toward the possibility of serving yet another clientele, the socially handicapped, one example of whom was the public offender.

A major reason for this expansion was the humanitarian philosophy of the rehabilitation movement, but there was another less overt impetus. For years, VR's funding had depended on a system referred to as the "numbers game". Earlier, actual dollars allocated to state agencies were based on a mathematical formula that included numbers of rehabilitations per year. Although that was no longer operative in 1963, the habit remained of selling legislatures on larger appropriations by describing yearly increases in rehabilitations. The system, consequently, carried with it a periodic need to expand the pool of potential clients so that the number of rehabilitations could be maximized.

Already a few state VR agencies (particularly those in Georgia, Oklahoma, South Carolina, California, and Washington) were involved in prisoner rehabilitation, but referrals were accepted on the basis of traditionally established disabilities. Now the thought occurred that character disorder manifested by criminality obviously crippled acceptable vocational pursuit and therefore just might constitute a handicap in its own right.

Thus, VR's flair for exploration and the wherewithal to finance it were important factors in setting the stage for the

FOR Program. More significantly, VR's ability to provide an extensive variety of services and its need for more clients coincided nicely with corrections' abundance of clients and its need for expansion of services.

Given all these factors—the growing demand for penal reform, the converging concepts of work as a rehabilitative means toward resocialization, the search by federal corrections for community resources, VR's prospect of serving a new clientele—the stage was set for the spontaneous combustion that characterized the founding of the FOR Program.

Several encounters between personnel from the four agencies, some of which were accidental, made the benefits inherent in cooperation apparent. Miss Mary Switzer, then Commissioner of Vocational Rehabilitation (now Administrator of the Social and Rehabilitation Service), and Mr. James V. Bennett, former Director of the U. S. Bureau of Prisons, met at a social function in early 1963. It was only natural that their conversation centered on a common concern: the feasibility of applying the resources and techniques developed by Vocational Rehabilitation to the problems posed by the nation's increasing number of public offenders. At nearly the same time, Mr. H. G. Moeller, Assistant Director of the U. S. Bureau of Prisons, found himself seated at a luncheon next to Mr. Bill Davies. Originally a corrections man himself, Davies was at that time a staff member of VRA. As they discussed the problems of the offender, Davies said something to this effect: "I really think that VRA has something to offer your inmate clientele; if anybody has community resources available, it's us. Let's see what we can do about it." (The "we" soon became singular as far as FOR was concerned; Mr. Moeller would have a continuing place in its activities, but Mr. Davies would not reappear as a planner or participant.) Other meetings were planned, although their purpose was not full inter-agency cooperation.

Sometime in 1963, Mr. Glenn Petty, then Assistant Chief of Probation, Administrative Office of the U. S. Courts, was in search of someone from VRA to participate in training seminars for probation officers. In the course of his mission, he was given an introduction to Mr. Richard Grant, who had just arrived upon the federal VR scene from one of the few state VR agencies (Oklahoma) already offering services to offenders. The team of Petty and Grant was a natural from the beginning and its formation was very important to FOR, particularly when its forces were joined with Mr. James Murphy, then Assistant Supervisor of Adult Corrections with the U. S. Bureau of Prisons. From this association evolved an ad-hoc committee designed as a forum for the free exchange of cooperative ideas among representative members from VRA, the Probation Service and the Bureau of Prisons.

One effort of the ad-hoc committee was to secure the production of "The Scar Beneath," a thirty-minute movie depicting the cooperative efforts of a VR counselor, staff members of a federal penitentiary and a probation officer in the rehabilitation-resocialization of an offender client with a cosmetic disability and a psychological disfiguration to match. The committee felt this film would help sell state VR agencies on soliciting referrals from the offender population. However, they pictured these new potential clients as being eligible for VR services primarily on the basis of traditional physical and mental disabilities. At that time the idea of a convicted offender being accepted as a VR client simply on the basis of his conviction alone was still too radical for widespread distribution.

Meanwhile, informal conversations continued between Miss Switzer of VRA and Mr. Bennett of the Bureau of Prisons. Eventually, all three agencies charged the ad-hoc committee with the responsibility of setting up a regional VR and corrections meeting in Atlanta. The hope was that such a meeting would further the idea behind the film and that more state VR agencies would look to corrections for referrals.

IGNITION: ATLANTA – 1964

Considering the level of respective agency authority represented in the selection of conference participants, something was bound to happen. All were people prominent in VR, the Bureau of Prisons or the Probation Service, but we will mention only a few other than Miss Switzer and Mr. Bennett.

Naturally the members of the ad-hoc committee attended. In fact, had it not been for the interest Glenn Petty had aroused in Richard Grant, the FOR Program might well have started as a dual partnership between VR and the Bureau of Prisons, with the Probation Service cast only in an incidental role. Much of that line of thinking did prevail right up to the Atlanta Conference. At that point, it seemed likely that if any cooperative proposals were to be implemented, VR services would be offered only to prisoners (during incarceration and later in post-release), leaving probationers out in the cold. However, the conference scheduling done by Petty and Grant created several dramatic shifts in the evolution of FOR.

Mr. John C. Carbo, then Supervising Probation Officer and now Chief U. S. Probation Officer for the Northern District of Georgia, moderated a panel discussion. Carbo's panel, including Mr. Louis J. Karp, Chief, Division of Probation, Administrative Office of the U. S. Courts, and Glenn Petty, came on stage late in the morning of April 8, 1964. In winding up this presentation on the Probation Service, Carbo included the following points:

1. Unlike penal institutions, a probation office owns no real estate, no hospitals, no housing facilities, employs no staff physicians or placement specialists.
2. In comparison to the total federal institutional population of 20,000 inmates, there are twice as many (40,000) federal offenders under community supervision.

When he finished, Carbo asked if there were any questions. Miss Switzer rose and spoke from the floor. In agreement with Carbo's summary, she reinforced the position that VR services were needed more by offenders in the community setting than in the structured environment of prison. Then, much to Mr. Carbo's surprise and apparently to the surprise of many other conferees, she announced that VRA would finance several research and demonstration projects focusing on federal offenders, prisoners, probationers, parolees and releasees alike if somebody would present a satisfactory proposal that was national in scope. With this formal commitment of financial support to an idea as yet unnamed, the possibility of spontaneous combustion became a reality. It looked as though what might have been a small bonfire had been ignited as a large blaze.

GESTATION: THE PLANNING PERIOD, 1964-1965

PRELIMINARIES: FORMATION OF THE PLANNING GRANT

Miss Switzer's announcement not only promised funds but also specified three conditions: financing would come from the research and demonstration branch of VRA;[13] *all* types of federal offenders, regardless of the nature of their correctional supervision would be a part of the study; and, finally, the effort would be set on a national scale with satellite state projects scattered across the country in geographical representation.

The job of finding a VR agency to present the grant proposal fell to a slightly new ad-hoc committee. Since the projects would have to be research-oriented, Jim Murphy, an operational administrator, stepped aside and John Galvin, Chief of Research for the Bureau, joined the group. VRA also enlisted a research man, Loren Helberg. Grant and Petty continued. After considerable study had been given to those states which apparently possessed the best mix of necessary ingredients and which of their lot were not already burdened with special projects, a conclusion was reached to approach the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation in the State of Washington and ask that it assume the designation of FOR Program headquarters.

Washington DVR had already accumulated some experience in the rehabilitation of public offenders and the State of Washington had long-standing legislation which enabled DVR to provide vocational rehabilitation services to nondisabled, socially handicapped persons in a special program funded entirely by state money. In addition, the Chief Probation Officer for the Western District of Washington, in Seattle, and the Chief Classification and Parole Officer for the U. S. Penitentiary, McNeil Island, had both referred a handful of clients to VR and were interested in the possibility of a cooperative program. Last but not least, the research capabilities needed to design and execute the FOR evaluation were available in the person of Dr. Clarence C. Schrag, nationally known criminologist, who, with others, had fostered a strong interest in criminology in the Department of Sociology at the University of Washington.

For the purpose of determining the willingness of Washington State DVR to assume the FOR Program's central role, a comprehensive gathering took place in Seattle in November 1964. Representation was drawn from each of the principal federal correctional agencies, VRA, the University of Washington and Washington DVR.[14] In the perfectly natural preliminary debate on funding and other technical matters, at least four topics were introduced that would return again and again to haunt FOR. Early in the day, Helberg, representing VRA's Research and Demonstration Branch, said that under the Congressional legislation enabling research and demonstration studies, the usual policy regulations governing the conduct of on-going VR programs, e.g., those pertaining to eligibility requirements, need not apply in R & D efforts. This led to a discussion involving the separative nature of research and casework, and the suggestion was made that the research portion of the FOR Program be financed 100% by federal money and that VR staff, specifically counselors, should do casework only, no research. The differences in the respective roles of correctional personnel (whether probation officers or institutional classification officers) and VR staff were discussed, but dismissed rather summarily at that time as presumably complimentary. Client treatment, or VR case service, was expected to be "intensive" in nature, but it was taken for granted that counselors would retain the prerogative of determining client feasibility.[15]

By the time the conference adjourned, Washington State had accepted the challenge and committed its DVR agency to the pivotal spot in the FOR Program. Not only was its Seattle office chosen as Program headquarters, it was also commissioned as one of the satellite project sites. Assurance of participation followed immediately from the U. S. Probation Service and the Bureau of Prisons. Among the cooperating agencies, agreement was reached on the following items to be established during the planning period:

1. Immediate goals and long-range objectives.
2. Strategy for attaining these goals.
3. A method of policing the people who would provide service to implement the strategy.
4. Devices for measuring the impact of the strategy as implemented.
5. A system for re-examination and revision of the strategy.

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[13] At this point, not one of the ad hoc committee was from research.

[14] Conference participants: Earle Bay, Chief Classification and Parole Officer, U. S. Penitentiary, McNeil Island; Charles Brink, Dean, School of Social Work, University of Washington; Harold Fish, District Supervisor, Washington State DVR, Seattle; Richard Grant, VRA, Washington, D. C.; David Gronewold, Professor, School of Social Work, University of Washington; Loren Helberg, VRA, Washington, D. C.; J. Eldon Mincks, Chief U. S. Probation Officer, Seattle; James Murphy, U. S. Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D. C.; John Murphy, VR Counselor, Services to the Nondisabled, Washington State DVR, Seattle; N. Frank Noren, Director of Extended Services, Washington State DVR, Olympia; E. M. Oliver, Assistant State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Vocational Rehabilitation, Olympia; Glenn C. Petty, Assistant Chief of Probation, Administrative Office of the U. S. Courts, Washington, D. C.; Cecil Price, VR Counselor, Extended Services, Washington State DVR, Spokane; Dr. Clarence C. Schrag, Department of Sociology, University of Washington; and Monte C. Smart, Disbursing Officer, Washington State DVR, Olympia.

[15] The minutes from this early planning conference read: "Individuals considered for service should be those who will show accomplishments and determination."

6. Selection of clientele.

The basic objective of the FOR Program, once it would become operational following completion of a designated planning period, was originally stated as follows:

> "To make vocational rehabilitation services available to a selected group of federal offenders who had previously had little such service, and to measure the impact of such services on the federal offender group."

The conference concluded with appointment of the following local planning committee: N. Frank Noren, DVR; Earle Bay, U. S. Bureau of Prisons; J. Eldon Mincks, U. S. Probation Service; and Dr. Clarence Schrag, Department of Sociology and Professor David H. Gronewold, School of Social Work, University of Washington. Mr. Noren was appointed Acting Project Coordinator and Dr. Schrag agreed to begin development of the research design.[16] As an outgrowth of this committee's activities, application for a planning grant was formalized and submitted to VRA. The following passage is extracted from that application:

> "The purpose of this planned study is to design a research program for a group of seven to nine geographically separated projects designed to study the vocational rehabilitation of Federal ofenders. Alternative patterns of vocational rehabilitation services to Federal offenders will be selected. A uniform data collection system, with necessary schedules, will be formulated. Research strategies are to be specified, as applicable, to the individual projects. Determination will be made of the extent to which intensive services may be provided through a budget of $40,000 to $50,000 per project."

The goals of the planning period had become:

"1. To prepare the research design for a collaborative research program to involve the vocational rehabilitation personnel in the corrective process of federal offenders.
2. To secure the cooperation of agencies which would conduct individual projects.
3. To advise Project Directors on the staffing of each project.
4. To set up priorities.
5. To design and formalize the collaborative research procedure.
6. To prepare and test research instruments.
7. To plan an orientation conference."

With the planning grant approved effective April 1, 1965, Washington DVR and its collaborators had seven months and $15,000 to achieve those goals. The prime task at hand proved to be a search for appropriate staff to make the effort.

THE PLANNING GRANT IN ACTION: APRIL THROUGH OCTOBER 1965

In reviewing the FOR Program or in considering any of its aspects, whether interest is centered upon design, administration, field services and treatment or research analysis, a patent manifestation should not be allowed to slip from view. The whole ball of wax was not created and conducted by a dictionary of job titles pertinent to research, federal corrections, VR, or the disciplines of behavioral science involved. It was carried out by an interacting panorama of human personalities—in a manner of some fraility, to be sure, but by and large in an atmosphere fairly rich with curiosity and conviction, expertise, and dogged determination: In short, adventure with a gimlet eye on the facts of life.

From beginning to end, the Program was directed, dominated, and colored by two central figures. The first to arrive was Mr. Percy B. Bell, a tall, reserved man of sixty. With his background in teaching, the behavioral sciences and administration, he had been employed as Supervisory Counseling Psychologist in the Veterans Administration Regional Office in Seattle when he was offered the position of FOR National Program Director. He accepted and became top man of this octupal outfit on April 1, 1965.

At first glance, he didn't have much to work with. Although he refrains from comment nowadays, the story has it that he reported to empty real estate: no desk, no secretary, no money to buy stamps; and he was hard put to find a telephone for his own use. Possibly he was a little annoyed, but it is doubtful that he was dismayed and certainly he was not discouraged. His resourcefulness had been refined years ago when he was an educational missionary in the back country of the Malay Peninsula. He began to solve his support problems at once.

If Percy Bell may be called the master of this vessel, its navigator was Mrs. Merlyn Matthews, the National Research Director. Rodolfo Alvarez, the Research Consultant who designed the program, had suggested Mrs. Matthews apply for the job. Bell hired her on the basis of her Phi Beta Kappa baccalaureate and her applied experience in sociological research.

Although Mrs. Matthews did not come to FOR until November 1965, it is important to introduce her prematurely to the chronological narrative in order to identify the observations she had to make on the activities, procedures, guidelines, philosophy, and program design of the period that preceded her. Her comment will intersperse the narrative in light face type.[17]

In mid-April, Bell went to Washington, D. C. for an orientation to FOR and the federal agencies involved. While there, he held discussions with Glenn Petty and Richard Grant on the selection of FOR project sites. A decision was reached that choice should be based on the following

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[16] In retrospect, not one of the committee doubted that the grants would be approved. Why should they have? The planning committee was implementing the wishes of the cooperating federal agencies and, with help from these agencies, doing just what the funding agency desired.

[17] The following comments on the planning period are taken, often verbatim, from the several program diaries maintained at that time.

criteria: readiness of a state VR agency to participate, readiness of a local probation office to participate, in certain cases proximity to a Bureau of Prisons institution, presence of a potential caseload sufficiently large to provide an adequate sample, and a distribution of projects from widely varying parts of the United States.

Initial contacts were made with nine prospects, the maximum number specified by the planning grant application. By late April, Dick Grant had been assured by appropriate VR authorities in both Georgia and North Carolina that their agencies would submit applications to VRA for FOR research and demonstration grants. Similar agreements were secured from Denver, Colorado; East St. Louis, Illinois; and San Antonio, Texas.

On May 12th, Bell called the leaders of all the prospective projects to determine if a random assignment of clients would be agreeable. This means of selection eliminated the prerogative of the counselor to pick his own specific clients. But everyone must have assumed random assignment would be made from a pool of the physically and/or mentally handicapped already screened for eligibility and feasibility, or some of them would not have agreed so readily. In fact, Schrag's preliminary design notes from mid-April read, under selection of clients, cases may be ineligible "by general rule or *by staff decision*."[18]

About the same time, Helberg and Bell discussed eligibility for VR services under the FOR Program. Helberg said that we could assume that all offenders were in need of these services for the purpose of this design and that eligibility requirements would not be necessary.

> Major effort was expended matching cooperating agencies in specific locations. But eligibility criteria and client selection, both of which broke with VR tradition, caused half of the potential participating sites to drop out of the program. The problem of finding the necessary projects for such a large, nation-wide study would pre-occupy Glenn Petty and Dick Grant steadily until the 19th of July, just ten days before the project grant applications were due. In fact, so much time was spent on this phase of the program that its other elements were almost neglected.

Now that FOR was destined to be a research and demonstration project, hypotheses and specifications of conditions were needed. However, another shift in thinking had occurred. During the April meetings in D. C., the VR people were talking, not about alternative rehabilitation services as the planning grant stated, but about intensive services. Dr. William Usdane, Chief of the Division of Research Grants and Demonstrations, VRA, spoke in terms of "intensive service on an optimal basis." Mr. Nathan Acree, Executive Secretary for General Research, Division of Research Grants and Demonstrations, VRA, stressed this question: "When intensive service is given, is there a significant difference in results?"

> These D. C. conversations were the forerunner of what would be a real problem with the design. It was basically a field experiment with some of the crucial variables left in an unrefined, exploratory state. We would later wonder what had been the experimental stimulus or, more accurately, stimuli.

Throughout this visit there was considerable emphasis on the kind of offenders most likely to benefit from services. Suggestions were also coming in from the other agencies which included such items as: "What age groups of offenders apparently obtain the greatest benefits?"[19] "Can the program aid in the adjustment of prisoners with purely psychological handicaps, as well as those with purely physical handicaps?"[20]

After Bell's return from D. C., Loren Helberg telephoned to discuss further research questions. And his remarks, which follow, later formed a large part of the skeletal structure of the FOR analysis.

> **"Does the provision of intensive services make a difference in the rehabilitation of an offender? Is there any difference in outcome between parolee, probationer and releasee? What additional effects are there if a physical disability is present? What is the influence of the time of the VR counselor's intervention? Should it be in the pre-sentence period, in the institution or be pre-release or after release? What is success—degree of improvement? How do VR services influence degree of improvement and what services influence improvement—intangibles such as counseling, physical restoration, financial services, job placement? What are the total man-hours involved in each of these services? What is the role of each participating agency?"**

Shortly thereafter, Dr. Schrag of the University of Washington agreed to design the project. He spent a considerable amount of time discussing these questions with Mr. Bell and his newly acquired Research Director, Robert Kintner. They also talked at length about the identification of treatment strategies. Dr. Schrag agreed to draw up some possibilities, and Mr. Bell turned to Loren Helberg again to ask if treatment strategies could be assigned in a random manner to the various projects. There is no record of any answer.

> Sometime shortly after this meeting, both the planning grant emphasis on alternative treatment strategies and the subsequent emphasis on the empirical meaning of intensive service were lost in a shift to an examination of the effect of treatment on the offender. From the standpoint of the research, this was a serious omission, one that reduced the validity of the experiment. Of course, a serious examination of treatment would have placed in question a concept that was assumed: Treatment failure was a result of the client's misbehavior, not the result of service rendered him.

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[18] Editor's italics.

[19] Letter from H. G. Moeller, Assistant Director, U.S. Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D. C. to Loren Helberg, April 23, 1965.

[20] Letter from Richard A. Chappell, Chairman, U.S. Board of Parole, Washington, D. C. to Loren Helberg, April 26, 1965.

Another important consideration introduced during the course of the Washington, D. C. meetings was the possible use of a sociological observer to check on the progress of the program. It was Helberg's suggestion that there should not only be a program observer in Seattle, but also one for each of the projects. It did not occur to him until mid-June, however, that these people should be paid.

Later in April, Bell and Kintner contacted Mr. Claude Pangborn, Counseling Psychologist at Seattle University, to see if he might be interested in the position of Program Observer. Experienced in the counseling field as a result of his work with the Veterans Administration, Pangborn indicated he would like the observer's job. Project observers for each site were hired later.

On May 5th, Frank Noren, who had temporarily served as Project Director, designated Bell as both the Program and the Seattle Project Director. Until this time the services of two people had been considered, one as Program Director and the other as Project Director, the latter position to be filled by a person on released time from his regular VR duties. This was the pattern followed in the other projects.

> Although this decision made good sense from the standpoint of the state DVR administrators, it placed Mr. Bell in a position of less influence in relationship to the Seattle Project and its respective state VR agency than he had in relationship to the other projects and their VR agencies.

On the 3rd of June, Bell had a distinguished visitor from Georgia, the late Dr. A. P. Jarrell, Assistant Superintendent of Schools for Rehabilitation Services—that painfully lean and fiercely ascetic figure who, as President of the National Rehabilitation Association in 1965, had fathered Public Law 89-333, the legislation enabling so much advancement for vocational rehabilitation. Along with others, Dr. Jarrell believed that the criteria for evaluating case success in the FOR Program should be client improvement rather than outright success, a relative measurement rather than an absolute one. In spite of his physical disabilities, Jarrell's support for FOR was the strongest received from a state director; and the Atlanta FOR Project Final Report was later dedicated to his memory.

On the 9th of June, Dick Grant called to say that one of the projects was having trouble funding service to people who were not disabled; that is, persons not having vocational handicaps established in the traditional fashion. This was the first of several such calls precipitated by Helberg and Bell's statement that eligibility requirements for VR services would not be necessary under the FOR Program.

From the research standpoint, their agreement was the logical outgrowth of another VRA funded project. During the latter months of 1963, Emory University near Atlanta, Georgia, became associated with the VRA regional planning conferences, and Dr. Earl D. C. Brewer, Sociologist, Department of Religious Research, was awarded a VRA grant for his investigation, "A Vocational Rehabilitation Study of Prisoners, Probationers and Parolees."[21]

The evidence reviewed in this study pointed overwhelmingly to the need of additional assistance to prisoners in post-release rehabilitation and to probationers and parolees during their terms. The abiding importance of Brewer's contributions to the FOR design is lodged in the question he imposed upon traditional VR criteria for establishing eligibility. Since an inverse ratio was found between eligibility and the need for service, he strongly suggested that any VR demonstration project proposing to focus upon offenders should de-emphasize traditional disabilities related to physical handicaps and place greater stress upon mental and emotional problems, educational needs, desires and attitudes (toward receiving VR service), and sociopathic conditions.

However logical the decision might have been from the research standpoint, it would cause Dick Grant to lose four out of the seven prospective projects. Later that month, another project leader called to request that his caseload be limited to clients with established disabilities: that is, with either physical or vocational handicaps. Mr. Bell said that this was impossible and another project bit the dust.

Also on the 9th, Grant mentioned that East St. Louis was out as a project; they were only going to use Springfield (Illinois). This decision had been rendered by Mr. Slicer, Director of VR in Illinois, who believed that serving both East St. Louis and Springfield would divide a counselor's time too much.

> That decision was eventually rescinded, and it was probably a mistake to do so. It appears that having both those cities as a part of the Illinois FOR counselor's area of operation did split his time too much, and he definitely felt less effective as a result.

Meeting the same day, the planners decided to limit caseloads to forty or fifty active clients at any one time.

On the 21st of June, the Research Director, Robert Kintner, announced he was quitting, due to a rift between research and administration. A permanent research director would not be located for three more months. On the 14th of July, Rodolfo Alvarez was hired as temporary research director and charged with the responsibility of writing the research design in place of Dr. Schrag who was preparing to move to California. A doctoral candidate in the Department of Sociology at the University of Washington, Alvarez agreed to work for just two months, after which he would return to finish his degree requirements.

On the 19th of July, Grant announced the demise of yet another prospective project. At this juncture, he said that he felt we would settle for eight, rather than nine, projects. Bell conceded that he also thought that would probably be more realistic. It had taken fully three months of continual negotiation to set up these projects. On the 29th of July, the final proposal for the Program and for the Seattle satellite project were combined into a single document and sent to VRA, and during the first week in August, each of the other seven projects submitted a grant application.

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[21] Earl D. C. Brewer, *A Vocational Rehabilitation Study of Prisoners, Probationers and Parolees,* Final Report of VRA Grant No. SAV-1036-64 (Atlanta: Emory University, 1964). Copies of this report are available from Department of Religious Research, Emory University, Atlanta.

On the 18th of August, Bell, Alvarez, Schrag and Pangborn met to discuss the observer's role. Pangborn, the National Program Observer, said explicitly that the observer should not be involved in administrative duties.

> At the time of that conversation, Mr. Pangborn was already working on the FOR Manual of Operations, which appeared to me to be an administrative duty.

On the 19th of August, Bell, Alvarez, and Pangborn again discussed success criteria.

> During this time in August, everyone was discussing success criteria. Earlier in the planning period, a number of people had been talking of avoiding success as the final measure and using client improvement as a measure of progress instead. In some respects, the research staff has now come back around to the point of feeling that improvement would have been a much more valid measure, and they regret that data have not been collected to measure improvement as such. Like the de-emphasis on treatment, this omission created some analytical problems.

On the 27th of August, there was a comment in the program diary that Grant was still working on the task of securing cooperation from the FBI in the provision of arrest records, information considered necessary to accurately determine client success. The FBI was finally able to provide these records early in 1969, due to new computer processing techniques.

On the 7th of September, the focus of discussion continued to be on case success criteria. Instruments would be designed for recording counselor and correctional officer predictions of case outcome; these predictions would be based on a paper review of any potential client's records prior to an initial interview or the employment of any other diagnostic evaluation. Deliberately, no specific directions for deriving assessment were proposed.

> It was decided to randomly assign clients to experimental and control groups on the basis of counselor spot judgment so that the complete spectrum of feasible-unfeasible clients would be served, a further check on Brewer's findings. This technique also made it possible to compare the assessments of correctional caseworkers with those of the counselors and to record the changing trends in judgment throughout the project.

On the 14th of September, Pangborn reported to Bell on a meeting he had had with Dr. Herbert Costner, Institute for Sociological Research, University of Washington, concerning the program observer's role. A quote from the Program diary reads: "They feel the observer's role should not be too specific in order to provide maximum growth. He should be free of bias."

> By this time the use of such terms as "not be too specific" is relatively frequent. It appears that the planners were realizing the basically exploratory nature of the FOR Program.

On the 16th of September, Alvarez advised that success criteria were completed. They included such things as rearrest, job adjustment and alienation. Influencing his selection was Glaser's book, *The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System.*[22] Although Glaser's study had no specifically identifiable influence on the published research design of the FOR Program, its comprehensive material on federal corrections, in particular, had yielded many hypotheses that Alvarez filed away for the next research director. The book's detailed emphasis on the importance of work as it relates to resocialization gave a partial scientific proof of the general hypothesis under which FOR was already operating.

Since Alvarez was a temporary employee, from this point until November 1, the date scheduled for the FOR Program to begin operations, an inordinate amount of time was spent locating a research director capable of insuring that the mechanical portions of the design would be in presentable working order for the initial orientation gathering of project staffs on that date.

On the 28th of September, Bell and Grant conducted a meeting at the National Rehabilitation Association Convention in Milwaukee for those state directors whose agencies would be responsible for the management of FOR projects. North Carolina and Texas were the only pertinent agencies not represented.

On October 15, 1965 the eight project applications (the FOR Program and Seattle Project applications were united in one document) were considered as a whole at the meeting of VR's National Advisory Council on Research. They were approved as submitted with only minor changes suggested. The applications appeared not radically different from the original idea, but under the surface they were substantially changed.[23]

The first idea, as quoted earlier, had been stated something like this: "To make vocational rehabilitation services available to a selected group of federal offenders who had previously had little such service, and to measure the impact of such services on the federal offender group."[24] Since that statement was formulated in Seattle in November 1964, more probation/parole offices (7) than U. S. penal institutions (3) had become committed to participation in the FOR Program. From them, a broad population of federal offenders would be selected for study.

Very few limitations for client selection would be imposed: age, sex, freedom from the possibility of deportation, sentence expiration date, and residency upon release to a limited area surrounding the appropriate counselor's office.

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[22] Glaser, *op. cit.*

[23] The full narrative portion of the grant request, which includes specifics of the research design, can be found in Appendix A. A summary only of that design follows at this point in the report.

[24] Letter from J. Eldon Mincks, Chief U. S. Probation Officer, Seattle, Washington to N. Frank Noren, November 24, 1964, with enclosure of objectives for proposed project.

None of these limitations had pertinence to vocational rehabilitation eligibility requirements, a substantial departure from what had been expected. Moreover, each local project had agreed to caseload assignment by random selection. This fact, simply stated, signaled the move from the usual survey evaluation to that of a field experiment.

In the FOR research design, services to be provided were broadly defined as "intensive," meaning that they would be furnished to whatever extent deemed necessary toward establishing the offender in a productive and law-abiding role in society. They included the following: "A specially designated vocational rehabilitation officer would give particular attention to these cases; determination of services needed would be his professional responsibility. His caseload would be planned so that he could assess even the less salient needs of each client. The Project would underwrite the appropriate rehabilitation services required without regard to their cost. Furthermore, service would be offered and provided to the client whether or not he asks for it initially."

Within this flexibility, the design called for all services to be administered at local project discretion,[25] with the single qualification that they be intensive in nature. The term, intensive, would gradually be replaced by the word, innovative (which would all too often prove to carry an ideal value rather than a realistic one). That is, services would be provided without regard to cost, would not be limited to those designated in the traditional VR lexicon, and would be considered permissible on any grounds whatsoever so long as enhancement of the rehabilitation-resocialization process was indicated.

Unfortunately, the research design was not equipped to handle the variability implied by these statements. Although some early discussion had centered on treatment strategy, the final plan placed little emphasis on this, the experimental stimulus. No instruments were designed to collect data on strategies employed and there were not even substantive indications that treatment would be analyzed at all.

For example, the factorial design listed three major experimental categories, one of which was simply "whether the case is given 'intensive' or 'current' services." Experience led us to this de-emphasis of sophisticated treatment analysis. What no one apparently thought of at the time was that some 15% of the "intensive" clients would receive no service at all, either because contact with them was not possible or because they agreed with their counselors that they held no need for service, or that another 35% of the intensive clients would receive only a small amount of counseling from FOR staff. Nor did we realize that those control clients referred to the regular VR program would, in some instances, receive exactly the same service that FOR counselors would provide.

Another major experimental variable was point of intervention, or that stage of the correctional process at which VR services would begin. As part of the design, agreement was reached that five of the projects would begin services to clients at the point of assignment to probationary supervision or release from prison; this was called Plan A. Three projects would not intervene until sixty days after that point; this was Plan B. The remaining three projects would offer services to clients still incarcerated or in the pre-sentence period; this was Plan C.

Effects of the experiment were to be assessed in terms of the extent to which "intensive" services were "successful in re-establishing the federal offender in a productive and law-abiding role in society." As the grant request stated, "exactly what constituted . . . (such a role) . . . is an indeterminate concept of complex proportions."

Data were collected on seven underlying dimensions of that concept: non-institutionalization, regularity of employment, total earnings, economic independence, social participation, socially acceptable behavior, and personal alienation. Collection was scheduled to cover a two-year period for each offender while the projects themselves would function operationally for three years. Because the average case service length would prove to be over twenty-three months, and because almost half of the cases actually receiving intensive services would continue in active status even longer, hindsight would show that the effects of service were being evaluated either while the experiment was still being conducted or too soon thereafter.

Although measuring improvement was discussed originally, no provision was made for it in the research design. Inspection of preliminary data, a year and a half after the projects were begun, indicated no measurable differences between experimental and control cases. At that time we attempted to subdivide the offender group and to construct comparable data from case histories so that improvement would be noted. However, case histories, source of the "before" information, were not as specific as information collected after the experiment began.

The formally defined purpose had become: "To test and demonstrate the effects of providing intensive vocational rehabilitation services to federal offenders at specified stages in the correctional process," the major addition from the first statement to this one being: "at specified stages in the correctional process."

The specific objectives were:[26]

(1) To determine the needs of federal offenders for vocational rehabilitation services according to their physical, mental, or social handicaps.
(2) To provide intensive vocational rehabilitation services to federal offenders who have been randomly assigned to demonstration groups.
(3) To develop measures of success of "intensive" versus "current" services in the vocational rehabilitation of federal offenders.

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[25] In the pre-planning conference in Seattle, the question of applicability of state regulations to research projects had come up. The federal research administrator maintained that state rules did not apply; but the state VR people said that they did. "Local project discretionary administration" came to mean the latter in most projects.

[26] Grant proposal narrative, see Appendix A.

(4) To develop related studies and take advantage of research opportunities as they appear in the planning of data collection and in data analysis.

(5) To study the impact of providing intensive rehabilitation services to offenders upon the attitudes and practices of the professional staff in various agencies involved in the correctional process.

(6) To develop recommendations for changes in administrative procedures and public laws relating to the correctional and rehabilitation fields.

Guided by the planning committee, the eight projects agreed to the following proposals: a centrally conceived and administered research design; a specific role based on time and place of intervention for each project; local collection of data to be analyzed and stored by the central Program office; the random assignment of cases to insure against variation among projects in client selection procedures; guidance by the Program Director in the provision of intensive and innovative services in an effort to establish comparable levels of client treatment throughout the projects; and (at the point of final reporting) the submission of local recommendations by each project for correctional rehabilitation activities within the framework of its own state vocational rehabilitation agency. In addition, each project would also forward recommendations to the Program Director and the Research Director for national application.

Despite the consonance implied in all the head-nodding to these objectives and methods, the eight projects shortly revealed themselves as quite diverse. Some of the differences were, of course, inherent.[27] Although most projects were concentrated in very urban settings, some were in rural areas. Some of the VR agencies were very large and their FOR projects managed to get lost in the maze of on-going programs; other VR divisions were either small or were keenly aware of the FOR experiment and afforded their projects special recognition and attention. A few had accumulated previous experience in correctional rehabilitation; most had none. Nearly all of the FOR counselors were new to corrections; half were novices in VR itself; some were new to both. Probation offices varied in size, training of officers, and methods of case supervision. Two of the prisons participating in the Program were "big houses," bearing full penitentiary classifications, while the third was a small juvenile treatment-oriented correctional institution.

A brief project by project description recalls these differences even more sharply. The Atlanta, Georgia Project was assigned two counselors. One, in a Plan C situation, worked with releasees from the U. S. Penitentiary, Atlanta, a close custody prison with 2,200 inmates, most of whom were middle-aged men with long criminal histories. Considering the recidivistic nature of this population, the prison program itself placed little emphasis on vocational training or academic education. Fifty percent of the inmates worked in the paying-industries complex, making mailbags for the postal service and mattresses for the Armed Forces. According to the design, this FOR counselor was to pick up part of his caseload from individuals in pre-sentence status under the purview of the U. S. Probation Office for the Northern District of Georgia in Atlanta. The other counselor, in a Plan A setting, was actually housed at the probation office, which was staffed by the Probation Service with a Chief, a casework supervisor and nine officers, each supervising 70-80 cases. The Georgia VR agency was distinguished by two characteristics: A heavy emphasis on the medical aspects of vocational rehabilitation and past experience in correctional rehabilitation. There has been a VR counselor assigned to the Atlanta Penitentiary, at least on an itinerant basis, since 1949; the Plan C counselor had been assigned to that institution for a year prior to FOR. The other FOR counselor was experienced in corrections, having been a county probation officer, and had been with VR for two years before FOR, handling a mixed caseload with no offenders.

The Chicago, Illinois (Plan A) was allotted one counselor, a woman, engaged to work with female offenders under the supervision of the U. S. Probation Office for the Northern District of Illinois. Twenty or so officers, all with master's degrees, composed the District staff, and the two of them who were to become most involved in FOR were also women. Formerly a teacher and a speech therapist, the VR counselor was new both to VR and to corrections.

The Denver, Colorado Project had one counselor in a Plan A and a Plan C arrangement. The institution cases were drawn from the Federal Correctional Institution at Englewood, Colorado, the only federal juvenile penal facility west of the Mississippi. Because of the predilection toward the rehabilitation of its youthful charges, this institution provided training, both academic and vocational, to a small population, 350 on the average, in a minimum-custody setting. The Denver Probation Office involved in FOR was staffed by a Chief and five officers, supervising a total of approximately 400 cases and completing about 35 pre-sentence investigations per month. The Colorado VR agency had made unique provision for the FOR study through the legislative budget committee, whereby state monies (10% of the project cost)would be marked for services to traditionally disabled offenders, freeing the remaining 90% (federal funds) for unrestricted use with the other offender clients. Although the FOR counselor was new to VR, he had past acquaintance with corrections, having been employed as a state parole officer.

The Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Project was another Plan B component operating in a probation office, this one staffed by 12 officers. It might be noted that Pennsylvania VR is the largest agency of its kind in the nation and reported some 12,000 rehabilitations in 1965. Its Pittsburgh Office was proportionately out-sized, listing about 100 professional staff members on the roster that same year. Drawn from that number, the FOR counselor brought seven years of VR experience to the Project, but had not had any previous encounter with an offender clientele.

The Raleigh, North Carolina Project was a Plan A endeavor. It lasted only a brief time after November 1, 1965, the date FOR became operational; consequently, there is no descriptive material available.

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[27] The following material was obtained from the final project reports. Addresses for obtaining these can be found in Appendix C.

Marked by two distinguishing features, the third Plan B project was sponsored by San Antonio, Texas. For one, the population of San Antonio, including its criminal element, has a high proportion of Mexican-Americans, a fact made significant by the language and cultural barriers it can impose. For another, unlike the other probation offices affiliated with FOR, the San Antonio District did not base its caseloads geographically and specific clients were not assigned to specific officers, thus inhibiting the VR counselor's ability to maintain a continuing relationship with his correctional counterpart on any given case. In one respect, similarity with several other projects was found in the counselor's lack of experience in either VR or corrections.

Two counselors were apportioned to the Seattle, Washington Project. One of them was new to VR and corrections. Posted to Plan C, his efforts were directed toward the inmates of the U. S. Penitentiary, McNeil Island, and also those individuals in pre-sentence status. At McNeil, he found an institutional staff in general only slightly more concerned with treatment than their like numbers at the USP in Atlanta and only vaguely prepared to accept a community resource like VR.[28] Somewhat akin to the philosophy found in Atlanta, program orientation was largely scaled to the nature of the prison population; McNeil is an isolated, medium-security prison containing 1,000-1,250 inmates, many of whom work either in prison maintenance or in industries. In addition to containing first offenders convicted of the more serious type of crime, McNeil serves the mission of incarcerating recidivists, or repeat offenders, regardless of the nature of their federal transgressions.

Billeted in the U. S. Probation Office for the Western District of Washington in Seattle, the Plan A counselor was neither new to corrections or VR; formerly a state parole officer who was also employed five years in the general program activities of Washington VR, he had not actually worked in correctional rehabilitation, that is, served an offender caseload under the auspices of VR.

The other Illinois project, a Plan B operation designed to pick up cases at a point delayed sixty days after release from prison or assignment to probationary supervision, was conducted in the Springfield and East St. Louis Probation Offices. The most significant feature about the Springfield Project was that the counselor's caseload was spread very thin over a large geographical area. He operated out of two quite different urban centers and covered a large rural environment as well. He was also new to VR and corrections.

Although the Tampa Project did not materialize as a substitute for Raleigh until February 1966, descriptive matter on this Plan A operation is included here in the interest of completing comparative background information. Responsible for the Middle District of Florida, the Tampa Probation Office served an area with a population of 1,350,000 (according to the 1966 census), over a million of which lived in urban settings, a fact that accounted for the high percentage of city dwellers in the FOR clientele. The important thing to remember about the Tampa Project is that an informal agreement was reached among appropriate state authorities whereby the federal portion of the project funding might be freed to finance innovative casework. Eventually housed in the Probation Office itself, the one counselor was technically a staff member assigned to the Tampa VR District Office, but he worked across the areas of four other districts. A retired military man, he had previously carried a VR caseload in a tuberculosis hospital, but had no prior association with public offenders.

In short, only the Atlanta Plan C counselor had acquired specific correctional rehabilitation experience prior to the inception of the FOR Program.

The roster of satellite projects finally composed Denver, Atlanta, Chicago, Springfield (Illinois), Pittsburgh, Raleigh (later substituted by Tampa), San Antonio and Seattle.[29]

By the end of October, in addition to the assurance of cooperation between the seven VR agencies and FOR headquarters in Seattle, collaboration had been verbally confirmed among the four principals: VRA, the U. S. Probation Service, the U. S. Bureau of Prisons and the U. S. Board of Parole. The operating design was complete, and a permanent Research Director, Mrs. Merlyn Matthews, had been hired.

A desire for cooperation among agencies with interrelated needs had taken form as a large collaborative research and demonstration project.[30] In point of fact, October 31, 1965 denoted the end of the planning period, a span that marked the growth of an idea, sometimes frustrating but often creative, into a definite course of action.

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[28] It must be recorded that these attitudes are in no way attributed to the Chiefs of Classification and Parole (or Chief Caseworkers) at either McNeil or Atlanta.

[29] For further information on the agencies involved, see Appendix A.

[30] For the purpose of FOR, collaborative research was defined as: "A centrally planned and coordinated group of projects studying a problem in vocational rehabilitation common to all or several states which requires a broad-scale attack not feasible for a single project."

CHAPTER II DAYS OF FUTURE PASSED

Over the three and a half years of FOR field operations, four distinct trends appeared. Intra-project staff relationships changed from formal to tense to informal. FOR counselors became less oriented toward the purchase of service and job placement and became more nearly the "change agents" themselves. The changes in the counselors prompted problems of service approval by parent VR agencies. During all of these changes it became increasingly apparent that the program office had little influence on the projects' approach to treatment.

The first phase in these parallel changes was brief, lasting about four months. Staffs were formal; counselors, traditional; VR parent agencies, placid; and the program, powerful. The second phase lasted about eight months. Staffs were pushing each other; counselors were unsure of their task; VR agencies were beginning to wonder; and the program was meeting its first dead ends. The third phase was another eight months. Staffs were relaxed; counselors were asserting new autonomy and making new demands; VR was negotiating for compromise; and the program was without authority in an area of controversy-treatment. The fourth phase was the longest, fifteen months. Staffs were even more relaxed; counselors, clearer; VR had set the limits for service; and the program was almost forgotten. The fifth and last phase was again brief, five months. Staffs broke apart with some real regrets; counselors found new jobs; VR was relieved; and the program was again powerful with research closure the main concern.

CHAPTER II
DAYS OF FUTURE PASSED

INTRODUCTION

Within the remainder of this report, the spotlight of attention will shift away from the architects and the planners of the FOR Program, most of whom will not be mentioned again.[31] Instead, emphasis will now be afforded to the field and research staff who actually carried out the experiment. This chapter is therefore devoted to operational activities and the paramount developments that characterized a succession of chronological phases which, taken in total, constituted the theoretical substance of the FOR Program.

As attempts were made to lend meaning to various interpretations of intensive, i.e., innovative, service, the core substance of the next three and one-half operational years was discovered in the following four parallel developments: 1) staff relationships across agencies within projects experienced a transformation from precise formality to relaxed cohesiveness; 2) part of this change proved to be a gradual movement away from VR's traditional job placement orientation; 3) and the further from this old-line posture the new philosophy grew, the greater the focus became on the counselor as a provider of service rather than a procurer, in short, a change agent himself; a twist that increasingly inaugurated conflict with parent agencies, particularly VR; and, 4) finally, the sharper the focus became on service, the more revealing became the lack of power invested in Program headquarters. In other words, not only had FOR failed to make provisions for analyzing treatment, but it had also neglected to issue its central office the necessary power for controlling it.[32]

Upon careful reflection, it is now the opinion of national staff that the FOR Program can be divided into five phases, which do not apply uniformly to all projects, but which were periods generally characterized by certain trends in the four evolutionary developments outlined above: 1) The beginning to March 1966 was a de-bugging period that focused on research data collection, administrative coordination and case assignment; it was characterized by strong Program staff influence, the formality of relationships within the project stafs and provision of service in accordance with regular VR policies, an adherence which naturally produced little conflict with parent agencies. 2) From March 1966 to the fall of that year, projects thrashed around trying to find individual styles of treatment. This period was characterized by a decline in Program influence, since the national office could be of little help in providing treatment (which had not been defined as a part of the research design). It was also characterized by the development of informal, if sometimes tense, relationships among the project staff members as they criticized each other's activities and occasionally assumed each other's tasks. In addition, this period was marked by pressure placed upon the VR counselor to stop being so narrow-minded in his purely vocational focus. Finally, toward the end of this phase, as the counselors began, in reality, to innovate, VR administrators woke up to the fact that strange things were going on, and the battle was joined. 3) During the third period, from the fall of 1966 to the summer of 1967, patterns of project activity settled into place; positive informal staff relationships developed; the VRC continued to move away from a purely vocational orientation; and conflict with VR administration was resolved. 4) Tranquility reigned from the summer of 1967 through the fall of 1968; little was heard from Program headquarters, which had no role in local activities; good staff relationships prevailed in the projects and generally FOR became routinized. 5) The final period, from the fall of 1968 to the termination of field activities in February 1969, realized a general clean-up on the project level; it was also characterized by the re-entry of national Program staff influence, since an emphasis was renewed on matters pertaining to research, the summation of data and the completion of final reports; then project staff members melted away to other assignments and pursuits.

The operational staff members of the FOR Program first gathered together in congress, with each other and with representatives of the four federal agencies sponsoring the experiment on November 1, 1965 in Chicago, Illinois.

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[31] It should be noted that Miss Switzer, H. G. "Gus" Moeller, Nathan E. Acree, Dr. William Usdane and Merrill Smith continued to lend support throughout our activities. Although James Bennett, Loren Helberg, Glenn Petty, Richard Grant, James Murphy, John Galvin and Richard Chappell retained a sharp interest in the Program, they were eventually either reassigned to new responsibilities or left their respective agencies or were retired, and thus were withdrawn from active participation. On the other hand, some new federal administrators joined the experiment during its operational years: John P. Conrad, Chief of Research, U.S. Bureau of Prisons; William Flanagan, Administrative Assistant, National Advisory Council on Correctional Manpower and Training, VRA; and Walter Dunbar, Chairman, U. S. Board of Parole.

[32] Experience would reveal that VRA had no such power to issue to the FOR Program.

BIRTHDAY IN CHICAGO

They were as widely separated by geography as they were by background, experience, discipline, socio-economics, regional culture, political affiliation and the amount of devotion each, at that time, was prepared to afford the public offender. From Atlanta, Denver, Pittsburgh, Raleigh, San Antonio, Seattle and Springfield (not to forget Chicago, itself), they lumbered into the Windy City, bag, baggage and social philosophy – project directors, chief correctional officers, VR counselors and a scattering of consultants – knowing very little of what it was all about, but vaguely stimulated by an awareness that normal routine was about to be superseded by something unusual. These were the chosen few, for the most part plucked from the anonymity of line personnel and appointed to serve the high purposes of the FOR Program; they composed the satellite project staffs, the assault units, upon whom success, failure or indifference would ultimately rest.

The orientation encounter in Chicago, which lasted four days, marked the official launch of the operational phase of the FOR Program, which was to terminate by design on February 28, 1969.[33] This First Annual FOR Conference was illuminated by three characteristics: 1) boredom at first, because there was too much, although necessary, didactic orientation in the interagency exchange of information; 2) a wealth of pessimism and mutual distrust among the rank and file, that is, between correctional officers on the one hand and VR counselors on the other; and finally, 3) the bombshell that accompanied VR's marching orders.

Once the didactics had reached a grateful conclusion, Grant and Helberg came before the assemblage to commemorate forever the end of boredom. Obstetrical preparations now all in order, they were about to practice mid-wifery and deliver the baby.

The following was carefully, even excruciatingly, enunciated:

1. This is a research and demonstration program. It is *not* a service program.
2. Its purpose is not to produce positive results. That is only its hope. Its purpose is to learn things.
3. We do not really know if public offenders can be realistically rehabilitated; so we want to find out. If they cannot, we want to know that too.
4. Therefore, do not be afraid of failure; just document it.
5. Under the provisions of the grants you have been extended, you can do anything, repeat anything, that you think will enhance the rehabilitation-resocialization process of your offender clients.
6. As far as VRA is concerned, you can forget your individual state manual of policy.
7. The gateway to innovation is wide open. All you have to do is walk through it.

Finally, Helberg bounced forward. "Okay," he said, "you've got all this new money. Now go out and find some new ways to spend it."

Audience reaction was as mixed as it was priceless. Correctional staff members seemed to smile secretly, perhaps thinking of all those services they were going to request for their clients, or maybe they smirked secretly, thinking of all those tenderfoot VR counselors about to be introduced to the criminal elements. Most of the project directors, who occupied positions of second-level authority in their respective state VR agencies, appeared to look inward as though focused upon some painful moment in the future when they would find themselves in policy combat with their administrative superiors.

But the VR counselors were the real study. It is easy to imagine that they might have responded as though school had just been let out for the summer (no more manuals of policy, no more casework supervisors with dirty looks). But, in truth, they did not. Instead they sat there for a moment in a sort of stunned, incredulous silence. In their defense and out of compassion for their sudden dilemma, it should be realized that they had just been shorn of their protective structure. These were not all new counselors; half of them had achieved relative seniority in their state agencies. They were well-versed in traditional vocational rehabilitation philosophies. They had been comforted and sustained for years by established policies and ways of doing things. Now, as the meeting was adjourned and they rose to depart, there they stood, for all the world to see, caught with their regulations down.

What happened to most of the counselors was vaguely reminiscent of Dickens' *Great Expectations.* The old lady hired Pip, the child protagonist, to play for the benefit of her amusement and told him to, "Play, boy, play!" but he couldn't play. When these counselors were told to innovate, at first they were stricken by a similar impotence. But this, and several things, changed over time.

THE FIRST STEPS:
NOVEMBER 1965 – MARCH 1966

After the starting gun was fired in Chicago, the projects were off and running all right, but not all in the same direction. With reference to the seeds planted in the original research design, not everything came up roses. Nevertheless, a beginning was made, and the first operational phase began to take form.

It might be remembered that this initial phase focused upon the discovery of problems in administrative coordination, caseload assignment and data collection. It was characterized by the formality of intra-project staff relations,[34] the absence of any real desire to innovate, the subsequent adherence to regular VR policy and the strong influence exerted by Program headquarters in most of these areas.

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[33] Originally conceived as a precise three-year effort to expire October 31, 1968, the necessity of an initial four-month "tooling-up" period was almost immediately discovered. Also, all projects, except Denver and Pittsburgh, would eventually receive authorization for an extended third grant period through May 31, 1969.

[34] One of the devices utilized to formulate staff relationships was the establishment of project executive committees, chaired by the project directors and composed of the VR counselors, the chief correctional officers and a handful of consultants from the behavioral sciences. These units met not only to discuss administrative problems, but also to staff cases. By the end of the Program, committees were meeting on a monthly basis in Seattle, Atlanta and Tampa. Chicago, Pittsburgh and San Antonio met less often, every three or four months or in case of special need.

Very soon after the Chicago orientation conference, the first operational bugs began to pop into view. For example, the Raleigh Project was seized by fiscal deficiency (not enough matching funds) and had to withdraw from the Program. A busy scramble occurred to recoup the loss, but it took until February 1, 1966, to produce a substitute: Tampa, Florida.

A rash of problems broke out, particularly in Atlanta, in attempting to construct caseloads from potential clients still in the pre-sentence state. The initial problem seemed to be that the period of time between adjudication and sentencing was simply too short, about two weeks. Then, too, the probation officers raised several more objections to involving pre-sentence offenders: they said eliciting information from offenders was hard enough during this period without the intervention of VR counselors; they felt the counselors should be protected from the potential jeopardy of possessing dangerous information and the possibility of lawsuits arising from that possession; and finally, they were concerned that counselors might give offenders false hope.

A more immediate problem was located in the two pre-sentence and institutional (Plan C) projects which were operated jointly with Plan A units. The pre-sentence clientele was cutting the Plan A caseloads by severe numbers since any pre-sentence case automatically went to Plan C and Plan A received only clients already sentenced to probation or released from out-of-state institutions.

Eventually, in a joint meeting of Program staff and consultants, the potential influence that VR intervention during the pre-sentence phase might have on sentencing itself was considered. And that did it – this whole phase of the design was scrapped with the strong recommendation that it become the basis for a later study. Thereupon the Seattle and Atlanta Plan C counselors went about their business with caseloads derived solely from their assigned institutions.

The Denver Plan C counselor had already told Program headquarters how meager his institutional caseload was, considering the small size of Englewood, so he was instructed to combine a Plan A caseload with his Plan C operation.

In general, this period of the FOR experiment was not distinguished by the excellence of its communications. For example, case assignment to either the experimental or control groups was made in Seattle at Program headquarters (hereinafter referred to as "Program") and was based on random selection derived from the lists of potential clients submitted periodically by the satellite projects. (For more detail on this subject, please refer to the text of the research design, Appendix A). The plan called for assignment to follow immediately upon receipt of the listings. The idea had been to walk eight blocks down the street to the Probation Office and use the federal telephone system to inform project directors of their assignments, only it did not work that way. Unlike the counselors, who were posted full-time to their assignments, the project directors worked on one-eighth released time from their ordinary VR chores, and, as work-horse second-line supervisors, they were often involved elsewhere when it would have been nice if they would have been able to sit around waiting for telephone messages from FOR. Consequently case assignments, as well as other communiques, often did not reach the counselor outposts anywhere near on time. As a result, the difference between Plan A, wherein cases were supposed to be accepted "immediately upon assignment to probationary supervision," and Plan B, which was designed for counselor intervention in the correctional process thirty to sixty days later, was often diminished to a critical degree. Thus, in the interest of expediency, future assignments were transmitted by mail.

The Seattle telephones had become very busy items of equipment and the Program secretary had been pounding out directives on a typewriter for months when it was discovered that all this information that had been pouring out of Seattle was stockpiled in the minds of project directors or buried somewhere on their desks. These people were just so swamped with regular VR duties that they could not always manage to sort and transmit FOR information to the appropriate participants. Mailing lists were set up at Program headquarters and letters began going out to everyone. This was no small undertaking, considering the fact that each project contained a director, sometimes an informal assistant director, one or two counselors, a chief U. S. probation officer, an observer and a research consultant, and in three localities, a chief of classification and parole.

Since field staff were commissioned to collect data and administer certain questionnaires to clients for Seattle to analyze, part of this volume of mail was in response to further requests for guidelines on how and when to gather this material. At one point, probation officers were expected to administer questionnaires to control cases, so that VR counselors would have no contact with them and could avoid the danger of having a control ask for VR services, which might skew the research. But this was soon shown to be totally unrealistic because probation officers were already swamped by their large caseloads, and the task eventually fell to VR secretaries. This left correctional officers with little more to do in the research business except prepare lists of potential clients, and in some projects that task was also handed over to VR personnel. Because field staff continued to point out all sorts of holes in the original design and other early directives, new and more precise instructions had to be devised. All this took time, and in the meantime data collection was a bit on the ragged side, to say the least.

Slowly the realization came to light that the original design did not make provision for the inclusion of case history material as integral to the research experiment. The Bureau of Prisons had instructed all its institutions to provide case summaries on releasees discharged without supervision to FOR districts and whose background data would therefore not normally be forwarded to Probation Officers, but this information was transmitted only for the benefit of the local FOR counselor for use in case assessment. When the Program formally requested copies from each local project, resistance was prompt in some quarters. For example, one project director was advised by the local chief U. S. probation officer that he, the chief, could not release such documents, that the request should be processed through channels; from project director to program director to VRA to the Board of Parole to the Administrative Office of the U. S. Courts and then back down to the chief U. S. probation officer. As far as pre-sentence reports were concerned, the chief U. S. probation officer regretted that only his Circuit Judge could authorize the issuance of copies. Furthermore, the chief U. S. probation officer believed that the formal channeling of communications he had outlined for obtaining background material should operate in any circumstance affecting his unit.

When this particular problem was brought to the attention of Program staff, they talked about it with Glenn Petty, Assistant Chief of Probation, Administrative Office of the U. S. Courts, and he was called upon to use a certain amount of persuasion in his conversation with the chief U. S. probation officer, emphasizing the desirability of a cooperative spirit in the FOR Program. Finally, the chief U. S. probation officer reversed his decision and allowed as how his office might release the requested information if that was the way it had to be, and he also admitted that such a formal channeling of communication with FOR staff was not necessary after all.

This misunderstanding could have been avoided and the whole matter of information sharing settled if only a written cooperative agreement among the four federal agencies had been signed in the beginning.[35] The episode itself is significant primarily because it illustrates the first inkling the Program staff had that their formal power (power to effect agency policy change) was not limitless.

A similar misunderstanding arose between FOR and the Bureau of Prisons. It would be almost a year before the Bureau convinced its institutions to routinely mail multiple copies of case histories on FOR clients to the various projects, and by that time VR would have invested a lot of money in copy machines.

Throughout all this turmoil, most of the counselors busied themselves admirably. Although some of them were just not convinced that it was morally sound to spend that precious commodity, the taxpayers' money, on a bunch of crooks, they were service-oriented and doggedly set about building their caseloads, a procedure they understood. A few of them did look askance at paper devices they had been given, on which to record research data or, worse yet, did not look at them at all and put them away somewhere, as though they might disappear by themselves.

During these early days of the FOR experiment, most FOR counselors continued to receive casework supervision from regular VR casework supervisors. The majority of project directors remained remote to the counselors, partly because of their occupation with other administrative matters and partly because they usually enjoyed positions lofty enough in the hierarchical structure of their respective agencies to remove them from field activities. National Program staff itself seemed, if anything, more remote, and the counselors had little understanding of what the research director was for in the first place. So, in effect, project supervision, both in casework and research operations, remained in the hands of people who did not recognize the nature of the game and whose enthusiasm toward anything that smacked of innovation could be described as something less than electrifying.[36]

Two exceptions to this pattern did exist — one in Seattle, the other in Denver. Seattle received its casework supervision from Percy Bell, who was project director as well as program director; and research guidance was furnished by Mrs. Matthews, the research director. Denver had a different set-up altogether; when its grant application was first developed, that unit made a special arrangement with the Colorado State Legislature's Budget Committee to release the project for operation outside the regular program. Consequently, the counselor took his supervision on a direct line from his project director, a middle-line administrator in the state VR office.

A unique problem developed in Pennsylvania during the first four months. The Pittsburgh Project was hard hit by attrition. The following positions were vacated and refilled in succession: Counselor, project director and observer.

In the midst of all the upheaval and uncertainty, four months slipped by while the experiment went through an unanticipated pre-test. The following entry can be found in the log of the first grant period: "An administrative decision was requested of VRA and granted by that office to extend the first year's grant by four months. These four months were required to establish the coordination of the eight project field research operations." That was one way to put it.

In summary, the first phase was characterized by the following: 1) formality prevailed in intra-project staff relationships (and nothing further can be said about that, simply because everybody remained so precise and correct that nothing exciting happened and genuine interaction failed to take place); 2) except in the Seattle Project, which was adjacent to Program headquarters, innovation in service also failed to make an appearance. Abetted by supervision under casework supervisors of regular VR programs, most counselors adhered to established policy; 3) the relationships between the various projects and their parent VR agencies remained serene, and finally, 4) the strong influence of FOR Program headquarters was felt in the direction it supplied toward solving problems in administrative coordination, caseload assignment and data collection. These things Program headquarters could control, if only through prestige and administrative expertise; but other problems, such as those encountered in obtaining background case histories from corrections, began to hint at future limitations in strength at the national Program level.

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[35] Such an agreement was finally signed in May 1966.

[36] The counselors were housed in one of four localities. In Chicago A, Denver A & C, Seattle A and Tampa A, they were assigned space in the probation offices. In San Antonio B, Springfield B and Atlanta C, they worked out of VR district offices. In Atlanta A and Pittsburgh B, the counselors occupied separate rented accommodations. The Seattle C counselor was housed at FOR Program headquarters. In Atlanta, the Plan A counselor originally was afforded space in the probation office, but had to move across the street when his office was given to a newly allocated probation officer. Also originally in the probation office, the Pittsburgh counselor moved at mid-program to an office rented by VR and just down the hall from his original quarters. The Springfield B counselor moved from the probation office to the VR district office. The Seattle C counselor moved from the VR district office when FOR Program offices were also shifted. Initially in separate quarters of the same building, after one year of operation, the Tampa FOR office was combined with the probation office into a single unit.

What we did not know then was that the problems of those four months were only the half of it. More trouble with fewer courts of appeal were just around the corner.

THE BEGINNINGS OF INITIATIVE: MARCH 1966 – AUTUMN 1966

At this point, early in 1966, the Program entered its second phase and all the thrashing around in search of treatment style began. This period was characterized by: 1) the development of informal, if sometimes tense, relationships among the project staff members, as they began to question, or criticize, each others actions and occasionally assumed each others' tasks; 2) increased pressure on the counselors to make them aware of considerations beyond their narrow-minded vocational outlooks; 3) toward the end of the phase, as the counselors began, in reality, to innovate, VR administrators realized that established policy was in danger of being violated, and the battle was joined; finally, 4) the influence of Program headquarters slipped into decline, since national staff could offer no assistance in the actual provision of service. Because so much transpired and so much change occurred during the second phase, a considerable amount of space will be devoted to its discussion.

Early in this period, a field trip to three projects as well as to Washington, D. C., plus an array of telephone calls, revealed to the program director and to the research director what appeared to be two major problems in incipient stages: 1) inter-agency misunderstanding seemed to be flourishing, and 2) field staff said they were highly disgruntled about the limitations imposed upon their activities by the research design.

In the first place, counselors were being pushed by their correctional counterparts to implement "service to offenders . . . intensive to the extent necessary," as the Program grant so stated. That intensive services were not being provided came as a surprise to the national staff, who had innocently thought in faraway Seattle that everybody was innovating. Certainly, the Seattle Project, supervised by Bell himself, was at that time providing all the services that the Program Executive Committee and the counselors could dream up.

Mr. Bell and Mrs. Matthews assumed that much of the pressure from corrections and the uneasiness of the counselors were the result of misunderstandings about the roles of respective agencies. The difficulty seemed to lie in the failure of project staffs to learn how to get along better and to iron out their differences as they arose. Actually, what they had heard in D. C. and on those other field trips had diverted Bell and Matthews in large part from the real problem at hand, which was lodged in the very nature of the FOR client treatment experiment.

The D. C. visit was timed, accidentally, to coincide with a meeting of the Executive Board of the Probation Officers Association. Chiefs from several FOR projects were on hand. It seems that the Department of Justice, and surely the Bureau of Prisons, had surreptitiously drafted and promoted a bill to integrate the Probation Service and the Bureau. Although the ostensible purpose was to further destroy the wall between prison and community, this was not the issue on which the battle was joined. The chief U. S. probation officers were generally furious, remembering that they had been removed several decades before from the Department of Justice to avoid the question of jeopardy inherent in the dual function of sharing investigative findings with prosecutors and pre-sentence data with judges. Threatened by the prospect also of losing the autonomy they cherished within the various Circuit Courts, they marshalled their forces for a counter-attack. This battle would, in fact, fade after several months of thrust and parry between the chief U. S. probation officers and the chiefs of classification and parole (as institutional staff they favored the integration since the Bureau could not help but come out the stronger) and the whole issue would be tabled, but the internecine warfare would be sufficiently impressive while it lasted to divert Bell and Matthews from the real problem at hand. Ultimately, however, their attempts to solve the partially imagined difficulty of inter-agency conflict among FOR participants would lead them back to the more central concern of client treatment, or the nature of services provided to public offenders, and the analysis thereof.

In reality, several factors were contributing to the counselors' dilemma. They often were caught by VR's own definition of its role. As Miss Switzer would tell Mrs. Matthews on that same trip, FOR must be careful to restrict the activities of the VR counselor (hereinafter often referred to as the VRC) to his "goal-oriented activities of job placement." To quote Matthews' notes of the time, "It seemed very important to Miss Switzer that job placement should remain the primary, if not the only role, or purpose, of the counselor in dealing with public offenders."

Then, too, the VRC was caught by his own tunnel vision. Many client problems that required an unusual response were simply beyond his periphery. This was particularly true if his sights were narrowly directed toward the goal of employment alone. Aided and abetted by supervision at the hands of casework monitors devoted to their manuals of policy, the VRC's could see the traditional factors affecting suitable job placement (aptitude, desire, etc.) but they missed some of the foreign (to them) elements presented by the offender client. For example, one young offender had been raised in very deprived circumstances without any vocational preparation. His major interest had been that of lots of teenage boys; he liked to tinker with cars. Hoping to capitalize on that interest, as well as on a demonstrated aptitude, the counselor placed him in an auto mechanics school. But the youngster soon committed a new crime and returned to prison. What the counselor had failed to take into account was that this boy was very susceptible to the influence of his peers and very much in need of a strong adult model. The school was set up for young adults his age, and given his past history, he soon fell in with a delinquent crowd and got into trouble. The counselor, using hindsight, wished he had considered this and placed the lad in an apprenticeship position with a fatherly, older mechanic, but this problem of his client's susceptibility had evaded his field of vision, and consequently the counselor failed to develop the more promising training situation.

In general, the VRC's began to discover that their newly acquired clientele made new and strident demands. They found that public offenders exhibited low levels of tolerance toward frustration and that they had little use for delayed gratification. Many of them would not endure the "put-off" inherent to the lengthy pre-service investigations so dear to social agencies: They were most unwilling to play the doormat role implied in the following interpretation: "I want the service so badly, I'll do anything you want me to do; I'll wait as long as you want me to before I see you." Instead, these public offenders would get up and walk out.

The Plan B counselors were having special troubles. Since offenders normally have to have jobs as a condition of parole or probationary supervision, most of them were employed at least marginally by the time their counselors could talk to them (others who were not employed were nowhere to be found). But what was the role of a VR counselor when a prospective client was employed? In regular VR programs, 97% of all clients are unemployed upon acceptance and those who are employed are assumed to be in jobs inappropriate to their disabilities.

Thus counselors who had started out in abundant self-confidence of VR's ability to promote successful case handling were beginning to see failures on the horizon and they were demoralized.

This collection of observations sent Matthews home to read about VR and the role of the VR counselor, a study that led to further confusion since much of the literature available in Seattle centered around a polemic discussion of whether the counselor should be a counselor or a purchaser of services. The worst of it was that no one seemed to have studied in a systematic fashion what a regular VR counselor did.

The second problem incipient in February of 1966, field staff reaction to the research aspects of the Program, concerned primarily, but not entirely, the questionnaires counselors were administering to clients, both intensives and controls. The counselors hated those questionnaires, most of all those designed to measure alienation. In their eyes it was embarrassing to administer them, they were so bad. The VRC's reported that clients either could not understand the questions or they saw through them immediately. The question was raised, short of abandoning the questionnaires altogether, if it were not possible at least to make some changes in them. However, knowing that they had been pre-tested at McNeil Island Penitentiary, that Alvarez, who had designed them, had used similar material with similar respondents successfully in his Master's thesis, and that three hundred or so had already been administered by FOR, the Program staff felt too committed to them to make radical changes or to dump them. Counselors forwarded long and sarcastic letters clients had submitted to them in lieu of, or with, their questionnaires. That, coupled with repeated failure to make the responses scale in some standard and professionally acceptable fashion would cause the Program staff to wonder why they had not listened to the counselors in the first place, and done something more than make the very few minor changes that were made. (See Appendix A).

There was also some disgruntlement about serving control clients, or not serving them, as the case may be. Probation officers were sure that there were control clients in great need of VR services who were somehow deliberately passed over as a result of random case assignment. They wanted to know if there were not some way to cheat a little bit so that these people could be helped.

It had become apparent that field staff needed more indoctrination in the whys and wherefores of experimental research. A preliminary decision had already been made to have another FOR Conference in May 1966, for the purpose of clarifying a number of administrative questions and hopefully to inaugurate at least reasonable consistency in basic procedures. All this feedback that had been received from the field led Bell and Matthews to focus much of the conference planning on the integration of project staffs into cohesive units as well as a reiteration of research methods and objectives.

Mrs. Matthews was proceeding on the theory that if research were talked about enough, that if an explanation of methods and objectives were repeated often enough, then the field staff would buy the package, comparable to one's responses to repetitive commercial advertising.

The conference was held in Seattle, June 14-16, 1966. Despite the careful preparations to create harmony among projects, the Program staff was a step behind field personnel. VR counselors and their correctional counterparts were by no means still at loggerheads and had, more or less, come to terms. Counselors were no longer regarded as tenderfeet, and the reciprocal sobriquet of "fuzz" had dropped out of style. The small group meetings, designed to promote togetherness, were not without results in another area, however. A discussion of innovative service was on the agenda, and the lively dialogue that followed re-awakened Bell and Matthews to this central problem area.

On the issue of research, Matthews hammered home her commercial in a speech before the general assembly. She was supported by Dr. Saad Z. Nagi, Department of Sociology, Ohio State University, whose analyses of the common rivalry between service and research were known to VRA officials, and who was engaged as keynote speaker. In part, he said: "There are a number of . . . obstacles in the way of productive cooperation . . . First, is the controversy over appropriateness of the clinical versus the statistical approach to inquiry . . . Second, is that of the orientation of researchers toward patterns . . . Third, is a subtle but an important issue – the tentativeness and finality of information . . . Fourth, and most important, is the need for controls in research operations . . ." (See Appendix B). Dr. Nagi's speech was so beautifully conceived and delivered with such finesse that it probably fell on deaf ears.

At any rate, despite verbal agreement to follow the research design, resentment toward the demands of research continued to persist in some quarters, and in isolated cases, lingered on throughout the Program.

Although the participating agencies were no longer resentful of one another, even after the Seattle Conference, communications remained a problem in a few of the projects. For example, one project needed encouragement to share updated case records. The probation officers there allowed several cases to transfer out of district unaware that the VRC had finally encouraged these particular clients to consider some form of VR service. When the VRC began to have trouble finding these clients, he would turn to the appropriate probation officer for information and only then be told that a given client was no longer in the area.

Another inter-agency communications problem existed in Texas. As previously mentioned, in that probation office specific case assignments were not made to specific officers. Clients who dropped in saw anyone who happened to be available. Consequently, under this arrangement, communications concerning any given case were very difficult to maintain on a continuing basis and there was almost no exchange of information except what took place between the chief U. S. probation officer and the VRC.

Meanwhile a social phenomenon was developing. The unique nature of the FOR experiment increasingly isolated its VRC's from ongoing VR programs, if not physically, at least in outlook. Unable to retain his traditional reference group among the personnel of his own agency, the FOR counselor began to look elsewhere for identification. Although relationships with corrections were generally improving, the VRC was not prepared to extend his loyalties to another agency and esprit de corps had not yet developed in the FOR projects themselves. This left the alternative of identifying with clients: precisely what the VRC's reported they did.

This produced both positive and negative results. In their attempts to innovate in behalf of their clients, the VRC's frequently infringed upon the correctional domain and were sanctioned for this behavior. For example, one counselor wrote to the Parole Board about a case and talked to a judge about another. He was promptly informed by the chief U. S. probation officer and the chief of classification and parole that this was in violation of their provinces and that he was not to communicate directly either with the Board or any of the circuit judges without first obtaining their permission.

Some cases popped up with the shoe on the other foot, where federal correctional people trespassed upon a province normally attributed to VR counselors. In one instance, a chief U. S. probation officer told a VRC that a given client could not undertake a particular training program because one of the training agents was an ex-offender, in which case the chief U. S. probation officer had validity for crossing over into the VR domain. In other cases, however, invasions of VR turf were less appropriate. A chief of classification and parole, for example, vetoed the release plan a VRC had arranged for a young adult who was to enter an auto mechanics course. The chief of classification and parole felt that the young man's low IQ did not indicate sufficient ability to pursue such a program. Unfortunately for the chief of classification and parole, the ensuing argument came up during the annual FOR Conference, and once the facts in the case became known, all of the VR administrators and counselors present jumped rather strongly on the chief of classification and parole, pointing out with considerable conviction that the client in question had plenty of mental ability to cope with a course in auto mechanics. In actuality, there were few such cases during the FOR experiment that constituted agency infringements on either side. It seemed that after a few difficulties of this nature occurred in any one project, the lines of authority were thereafter carefully delineated.[37]

In general, the counselors' growing sensitivities toward their clients positively served the rehabilitation process and enhanced inter-agency cooperation. They became increasingly aware, in most cases, that they had to treat the whole client rather than focusing upon employment problems alone. Many problems, obviously of such a nature as to prevent rehabilitation, presented themselves outside of the realm of vocational considerations. By the summer of 1966, case services were already taking shape within this expanded regard. For instance, the Seattle Plan A counselor sponsored extensive psychiatric treatment for the wife of a client, whose behavior was considered contributive to her husband's own inadequacies. The Atlanta Plan C counselor deliberately fostered dependency in his clients, particularly during the immediate post-release situation, fearing that he might otherwise lose contact with them. This blossomed into a goodly number of midnight phone calls with requests for intervention in such non-vocational matters as domestic conflict.

In some cases, this changing perspective brought the VRC's into the correctional process in a manner now sanctioned by the correctional agencies. For example, in San Antonio, the VRC gave his clients cards stating that they were receiving services from his project and his agency. The clients used these cards when picked up by the local police. In those days, the San Antonio police were leaning heavily on enforcement of the municipal laws on vagrancy. Before the VRC thought up the idea of the cards, which indicated that their bearers were not without resource, some clients were temporarily lost in city and county jails. This was an area of intervention approved by the probation officers, who would have liked to have intervened themselves had they felt sufficiently comfortable in their relationships with local correctional agencies.

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[37] Some projects actually found it quite difficult to describe such incidents, but the Program staff feel that in those projects where the problem did not arise, two things were implied. Overstepping one's boundaries did not occur because either the project did not expand its definition of VR activities to the extent that infringement became possible or, good working relationships, the kind that involve extensive exchange of information on respective agency activities, were established early and thereafter maintained regularly. For example, in the Atlanta Plan C Project the counselor had been working at the federal penitentiary for a year prior to the inception of FOR. He was already on a first name basis with most of the caseworkers, and one almost gets the impression that on a given day all parties agreed to call themselves an FOR project, and then kept on doing what came naturally.

About this time, the counselors began to ask specific questions about what they could and could not do. In addition to the reactions they had been receiving from the correctional agencies, even stronger replies were received from their own VR agencies, particularly in the areas of what they could *not* do. Program staff were not too clear about what was going on either and had some questions of their own concerning the nature of the services that were apparently prompting some of these reactions. They requested a special observer report, which included in the instructions for preparing the report the following statement: "It has become increasingly clear that in providing rehabilitation for the federal offender the effectiveness of the program is directly and critically related to the use of intensive services. Reports, observations and experiences from the various projects reveal a persistent and serious concern in selecting, securing approval, and putting into use innovative plans, services and supplies designed to most effectively meet the individual needs of our clients." The observers would find, as the one from Chicago put it, that "one of the problems facing the observer in the preparation of this report is the definition of the word 'innovation' as we in the FOR project are using it. For the purpose of this report, I have adopted the following two-part definition." This definition is one that was very useful in interpreting the results from all projects. The Chicago observer said, "Innovation is: 1) Those things that could not be done for whatever the reason if the client were receiving current services, and 2) an imaginative service that technically could be done with the clients receiving current services but probably would not be done because such services require inordinate amounts of time and could not be managed by a counselor carrying the large caseloads usual in most departments."

By this time, all the counselors seemed to be talking about the necessity for something they called "instant service." In order to meet the needs of the public offender, given his low level of tolerance toward delay in service, action had to be fast. Particularly, the counselors were interested in acquiring petty cash accounts or emergency maintenance funds, for immediate use in providing clients with such basics as food, lodging, transportation, clothing, etc. Although eventually attainable through most ongoing VR programs, these emergency services could not be provided in those early days with anything resembling dispatch because of the prevalence of highly structured casework mechanics, translated: "red tape." Any applicant in desperate need who was not already on somebody's active caseload could not hope to crack through the barrier of prolonged diagnostics.

Another concern was evident in the engagement of clients who were already employed. The trick lay in arranging the performance of diagnostics and services outside normal working hours. If it were necessary for a client to miss work in order to accomplish his casework prerequisites, it seemed only fair to compensate him for lost salary. This, too, was beyond the pale of normalcy. These problems were not common to the conduct of ongoing VR programs, primarily because many of the FOR clients would not have been eligible in the first place, particularly if they had been employed.

The observers would comment in several instances that key personnel, who had to approve or disapprove rehabilitation plans or had to concur in the use of funds, were either unavailable or poorly informed regarding FOR. In some cases, these plan-approving officials refused to release funds for family travel, consulting services, clothing, payment for licenses, etc., because the circumstances behind the requests somehow deviated sufficiently from regulations to render the approvers unwilling to do so. When special dispensation was, in fact, given in such matters, even though the variations from established policy were slight, they became known as innovative services. A further list of these follows: more liberal provision of occupational tools, special consultation not normally employed by VR, such as that received from sociologists; more liberal provision of maintenance and transportation monies pending receipt of first pay; the utilization of half-way houses for the benefit of clients not traditionally disabled; and the provision of actual services during the diagnostic stage.

In the new-found desire to treat the whole offender client, i.e., to be attentive to needs beyond those specifically related to employment, most of the VRC's recognized early that they should search beyond the VR lexicon for additional resources; and this led them to seek the assistance of other helping agencies. This developed cooperative relationships that might be designated as innovative, simply by intensity: various state and local public assistance agencies cooperated in the provision of family maintenance; Traveler's Aid was helpful; and the Veterans Administration authorized training and educational benefits for FOR clients.

One development occasionally emerged out of these inter-agency relationships that was beneficial to all concerned; needs revealed by the FOR experiment propelled allied helping agencies toward the adoption of service programs they had previously neglected. For example, the Tampa FOR operation encouraged the adult education division of the local county school system to institute courses in remedial education. On the other hand, a few activities undertaken by the more aggressive FOR projects inevitably infringed upon the purviews of those otherwise considered in alliance. For instance, some welfare departments viewed client maintenance provided through FOR disbursement with a jaundiced eye, and peace parleys involving top administrators became necessary.

Some services provided by FOR beyond those previously listed, were clearly and unmistakably innovative: clothing and medical care for dependents of clients; counseling service for the close relative to a client whose condition was producing an adverse effect on the client; the replacement of household goods destroyed by fire; supplemental income for clients employed by day and attending classes at night and whose incomes were not sufficient for adequate family support; family maintenance under diagnostic plans when clients were temporarily too ill to work or enter training or just didn't have jobs; the reimbursement of salary lost through the requirements of various FOR activities; the purchase of legal consultations on civil matters; marriage counseling; and remedial education.

The individualized nature of many of these intensive services made it difficult to prepare fiscal officers for the unique vouchers they were to see. Past experience had revealed such close scrutiny of their disbursements that it was only natural that they should be concerned by inevitable state and federal audits. They questioned the sanity behind these deviant requests for payment, additional delay incurred, often to a point that subverted the intent of a given service. When several officials, both administrative and fiscal, questioned proposed service, delay became inordinant; sometimes it took weeks and even months to authorize a service — in which case, a counselor often looked about to find his client in parts unknown. Clients were known to abscond from release or probationary supervision while awaiting satisfaction of a recognized need, convinced once again that social service agencies did not respond to their problems.

One observer pointed out, however, that some innovative services did not require approval because no disbursement was involved. One of these was the simple intensity of personal contact between the counselor and his client. It was not uncommon for counselors to spend hours in personal contact with their clients, not in offering vocational guidance alone, but in discussing family matters, searching for adequate housing, and shopping for clothing and other items.

In some cases the VRC's were extremely adept at providing services not normally available under VR, which they were able to procure because of their personal contacts. For example, a Denver client found himself out of state on family business and was beset with car trouble. He called his counselor long-distance from Nebraska and the counselor contacted a friend who knew a sheriff in a nearby Nebraska town. This sheriff arranged for the client's car to be towed and repaired, and loaned the client money for his return to Denver.

During one FOR conference, a project director went so far as to remark, in an informal setting, that the sign of a good counselor was not only his ability to scrounge services from other resources, but to manipulate case recording and the wording of purchase orders in such a fashion that innovation would be described as current service. A counselor from another state responded vehemently, "Yes, that's fine under the regular program. We do those shenanigans all the time and we manage to write plans in such a way that our administrators approve many things without knowing what they really are, but this is a research project and we are supposed to report fully what we do. How can we, under your system, report these items only to research staff without ultimately getting into serious trouble?" One of the observer reports on innovative service actually describes this process, saying, "The supervisor does a very creative job in helping the VRC word the plans submitted for approval to stretch existing policies and exceptions to the limit but not conceal the facts of the case." The only problem here is that the research people in Seattle often would be as deceived as the local VR administrators.

In Atlanta, the project observer expressed a concern common to many of his counterparts in other projects: "The services being offered as innovative services by the two FOR counselors in Atlanta are not necessarily innovative. They could be offered on the regular VR program since the regular program permits innovations when properly approved. Technically speaking, however, it is my observation that while more people are eligible for services within FOR, these services could be approved under regular VR regulations." Aside from whatever reluctance the counselors themselves may have had toward initiating an exploratory service, one difficulty in Atlanta lay in communicating with the project director. He had sole authorization to approve services beyond those outlined in the state manual of policies, and was by no means disinterested, but was so burdened with other VR responsibilities that he was often elsewhere when the counselors needed his authorization.

One delightful question was raised in the Atlanta Plan A Project, which nicely illuminated the contrast between public offenders and regular VR clients, and illustrated the basic difference between current service and innovation. The VRC succeeded in gaining admission to a school for commercial airline pilots for a qualified client (a probationer with a very slight record involving a single, possibly inadvertent, manipulation of an FHA loan application). However, this school was not among the list of VR approved training facilities for the simple reason — who ever heard of a handicapped commercial airline pilot? But because the VRC and his project director persisted in defining the FOR experiment to higher authorities, the training was eventually authorized and a much clearer understanding of research and demonstration was acquired in the bargain.

Throughout all these events, which were recorded in the program observer's report covering the summer and fall of 1966, one thing should be remembered; when counselors were reluctant to innovate and instead traveled the safer route of providing services as usual, problems did not noticeably exist. Only the enthusiasm to explore brought on the threat of intra-agency combat.

Thus, in summarizing program status to this point, autumn 1966, innovative services varied from project to project for various reasons: 1) the willingness, or hesitancy, of any given counselor to expand his perception of necessary services; 2) his willingness to write plans in such a way as to make the real purpose of the plan believable to the plan approvers; 3) the willingness of state officials to approve plans and disburse funds in accordance with innovative plans, and 4) the amount of delay or rapidity involved in any kind of special approval.

This second phase of the FOR Program, which lasted from March 1966 to the fall of that year, was characterized by: 1) informal, but tense, intra-project staff relationships, evidenced initially in the pressure correctional staff placed upon VR counselors to innovate and later evidenced by a little cross-agency domain invasion as the counselors did, in fact, innovate. 2) The period was also marked by the VRC's movement away from their traditional vocational orientation, which 3) provoked conflict with their parent VR agencies. And, finally, 4) it became apparent that the influence of FOR Program headquarters had entered a period of decline, since national staff were powerless to offer assistance in the actual provision of services.

In the end, the Chicago observer was prompted to question, "Does the authority exist anywhere to create innovative service which may strenuously bend or actually break rules and regulations of VR? If so, who possesses this authority?"

CONFLICT: AUTUMN 1966 – SUMMER 1967

The third period, saw the evolution of the following: 1) positive informal staf relationships developed; 2) the VRC continued to move away from a purely vocational orientation; 3) patterns of project activity settled into place; and, 4) the influence of Program headquarters dwindled to a new low.

As Director of the Seattle Project, as well as Program Director, Percy Bell was well aware of the various administrative difficulties encountered in securing approval for innovative services. Since other project directors recognized the need for blanket approval, Bell decided to enlist the assistance of VRA. A letter then went out from that central agency to the directors of all the VR state agencies who were sponsoring FOR projects, suggesting that the following passage be included in state manuals of policy: "When research and demonstration grants are accepted by the state agency, the terms of the grant itself are for application regardless of the policy of the state plan as provided for the use of Section 2 funds of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, as amended."

Georgia complied, but no one else did, including Washington State. Some projects saw no necessity for special addendums to their state manuals. As previously reported, the Denver project had made an arrangement early in the FOR Program with the Legislative Budget Committee of Colorado which freed them to do whatever they pleased. The Tampa Project acquired a system whereby it informally acknowledged the fact that only 10% of project financing was drawn from state funds and hence bound by state regulations. An agreement had been made in advance in the Florida agency that the 10% state financing of the project would be considered part of salary payment, so that the 90% federal portion could be used for case services as necessary.

The other projects would have considerable difficulty securing authorization to innovate. For example, in Pittsburgh the original grant request called for "conventional services" to federal offenders. "Conventional" was interpreted to mean regular services. Therefore, starting in October, 1966, Bell and the project director in Pittsburgh began to discuss how this might be altered so that intensive services could, in fact, be provided. The regional commissioner for VRA talked to the state director and suggested that the plan be rewritten. However, by November, the state VR people were to have found that Pennsylvania Act No. 345 states, "Only those services in the General Appropriations Act could be provided under vocational rehabilitation." By March 1967, someone had proposed the idea that non-conventional services might be purchased on a contract basis from some private agency. It was believed that this could be accomplished through an addendum to the state plan, stating something like this: "This will include all conventional and any innovative services required." In June, after the Pittsburgh Executive Committee met, a letter was composed by the project research consultant to the state director with the advisement that if nothing were done, the Pittsburgh Project would distinguish itself from its fellow projects by being the only FOR project unable to innovate. This prospective citation prompted action and contracts were then signed with the Pennsylvania Rehabilitation Center and Grub Stake, Inc. – two private agencies through which innovative services could be purchased. It had taken Pittsburgh almost one year, at a point two years after the beginning of FOR, to provide intensive service.

In the first few months of the San Antonio Project, two administrative breakthroughs made allowance for a limited variety of innovations. For one, the counselor had secured blanket approval for the use of a new rehabilitation plan designation. Called "social and work adjustment," it permitted services that followed a non-vocational route. Even though a client might already be employed, it was now permissible to authorize services of a diagnostic nature. The VRC began to write these plans almost automatically in all cases. He even closed cases as rehabilitated from plans of this nature. This is unusual for VR in that many states do not approve a full range of VR services except for cases served under training and/or medical restoration plans. Since few Texas FOR clients, approximately one-half of whom were narcotics addicts, would reveal a need for conventional plans, only the flexibility of the "social and work adjustment" nomenclature afforded the possibility of full service to all clients. One of these services was group therapy also masquerading as social and work adjustment. The Texas VRC also received permission to use case service maintenance money for a wider variety of purposes; for example, debts incurred by a client were liquidated with such money. However both social and work adjustment plans and all maintenance vouchers had to receive the personal approval of the VRC's casework supervisor, who was not the project director. Maintenance could not exceed the regular state maximum and was given grudgingly so the result of this particular solution to innovation was that little maintenance was provided except for unusual services.

Late in the fall of 1966, the San Antonio Project hired a qualified casework aide, who was a Mexican-American quite familiar with that ethnic community. His ability to locate clients, both intensive and control, and to urge program participation through the influence of their families and significant others was invaluable.

The two Illinois projects, Chicago and Springfield, were to contend, almost throughout the entire program, that any services needed by clients could be furnished under regular policy. In addition, they required that their clients undergo general medical examinations before full-service programs were instituted. (This requirement is normal to VR policy in determining client eligibility; since all FOR clients were supposed to be automatically eligible for services, other states did not enforce this policy.) Because many offender clients are highly resistant to examinations, fewer of the Illinois clients received full-service treatment. It was not until late 1968 that Illinois realized its projects were operating under restrictions not imposed on other FOR units, but by then it was too late.

Later, in the summer of 1967, Seattle (identified here as a project, not Program headquarters) reached a climax in its struggle for freedom from state DVR policy, particularly in the areas of family services and the processing of client emergency maintenance vouchers. The question of legality inherent in the conflict between the provisions of a research grant and the established state manual of policies eventually drew the interest of the State Attorney General's Office with the result that a partial, but not satisfactory, solution was reached. In reality, the Seattle Project was to find itself under more restrictive regulations than before.

Two major changes did result from all the talk about innovative services: 1) in all cases, the VR counselors acquired new ideas and widened their perspectives on services needed by public offenders; and 2) the problems inherent in casework supervision by regular service supervisors became apparent and several solutions were sought. In five projects — Springfield, Chicago, Atlanta, Pittsburgh and Tampa — the project directors eventually became the line supervisors in fact, or, as happened in Texas, the casework supervisor became the project director (line supervision was provided throughout the project life by the project directors in Seattle and Denver).

A couple of other things became apparent to national staff. Neither the Program office nor VRA had any power when it came to changing policies on treatment. One ultimate sanction was available — to terminate project funds. It would have been possible for Program to recommend that a project not be funded for another year and VRA could have decided to withdraw financial support, but that contingency was never initiated although considered, and the real power remained in the hands of state auditors, whose potential criticisms of innovative service imposed most of the hesitancy within the ranks of VR administrators.

Then, toward the end of Fiscal Year 1967, two projects ran out of money as a result of liberal service approaches. This crisis would conclusively define a lack of power in national Program headquarters in all areas except those originating in research. There was no total Program budget, as such, and Bell had very little control of funds in any except the Seattle Project. Authority to effect the actual transfer of funds was vested in the centralized control exercised by VRA in Washington, D. C. Funds were finally transferred to these two projects because of Bell's persuasive ability and not because he held the power to direct the transaction. His role as top administrator for all projects was fast becoming primarily one of persuader and intermediary between the projects and D. C. As the need for someone in that role decreased, the program director's attention shifted more and more to Seattle Project matters. He also broadened his definition of whom he should persuade of what and became a nationwide advocate for correctional rehabilitation.

The Third Annual FOR Conference, held in Denver, Colorado, May 14-16, 1967, thanks to the imaginative efforts of Percy Bell, was best remembered for its illuminating cross-ventilation: everybody talking, everybody participating, not just during formal sessions, but on into the night with busy pockets of dialogue everywhere. Not only had we become so many functioning project units, we had also become a national congress of mutual concern.

The Conference placed its emphasis on treatment and the presentation of research findings to date. Treatment and outcome will be discussed at length in later sections, but an admonition by the late Dr. Mark Jarrell, Consultant in Psychiatry to the Denver Project, is well taken here. Focusing upon the limited number of trained psychiatrists and psychologists available for work with public offenders, he urged these behavioral scientists to assume teaching roles, and he asked for the emergence of the VR counselor as more of a treatment person, in addition to his traditional function as a builder of employment opportunity structure. This counsel was followed rather slowly during the following months, in general, but later with great patriotism, and it was to color the final year of the project.

Several months before Denver, a case closure procedure had been developed. It evolved in part from the necessity to permit the assignment of new cases after the counselors' caseloads had reached the maximum of fifty clients. As part of this procedure, the Program office instituted what amounted to a case review, culminating in the authority to approve closure. To accomplish this review, an amended version of the standard VR closure form was devised. It was discovered that closure criteria meant different things to different counselors and supervisors; this was particularly true in rehabilitated cases. So, part of the conference agenda was devoted to the standardization of major categories of service outcome, i.e., an effort to create a scale of success measurement that would be comparable from one project to another.

On the second working day of the conference, Scott Fulton, Atlanta Plan C Counselor, presented a paper on successful closure criteria. He pointed out correctly enough that, once a client had satisfied the success conditions universally established by the Program of six months stable employment, and the avoidance of further felony convictions during that period, determining what constituted "adequate social performance" became a pretty subjective business. In an effort to satisfy, not just the goals and philosophies of VR, but of the other participating agencies and disciplines, as well, the following questions were suggested as applicable to any given case:

1. Does the client make enough money to meet the basic needs of his family, if he has one, and still have a reasonable margin left over for amusement and luxury items?
2. Can the client realistically aspire to advancement in the future?
3. How does the client seem to estimate his position in the mainstream of the "good American life?" Is he apparently satisfied with his own vocational image? Does he think he now has as much status as he did as a crook, making a fast dollar and spending it lavishly?
4. Has the client really made use of the VR services provided to him? Or has he taken advantage of any other community resources?
5. Is the client making use of his vocational strengths or is he occupied consistently with training received during the correctional process?
6. How does the client react to stress, big or small? And how does he seem to handle anger?
7. Is there evidence of a serious drinking problem or has the client been arrested two or more times on misdemeanor charges?
8. What other indications are there that the client has been reintegrated into the community?
9. What attitudinal changes were observed during, or as a result of, the rehabilitation process?

These criteria were eventually incorporated into one of the two closure forms.

A preliminary examination of the research data so far accumulated had given so little hope toward the projects ever becoming outstanding monuments to the validity of correctional rehabilitation that the research staff felt compelled to forewarn the field staff that the Project just might go down to ultimate failure. Mrs. Matthews conveyed this concern to the conference: "We have found no significant differences between the total experimental and the total control group on our two major criteria of success, recidivism and employment. Such a statement, of course, is based on incomplete data and may be revised."

Here again was a stunned audience, who seethed for awhile, then went home quite angry and depressed. The problem was in determining where the anger should be focused: on Mrs. Matthews for presenting what was believed to be a spurious conclusion based on incomplete data, or on oneself for casework failure. It was easier to blame Mrs. Matthews, rationalize that data on released control clients was much more difficult to obtain than on the experimental group (with whom relatively close contact was maintained), and vow that the final outcome would be revealed as something quite different, once we got hold of the FBI arrest records on the controls.

One comment found in Mrs. Matthews' conference notes should be of interest to the VR counselors who had been harassed about the collection of data the year before: "I am increasingly intrigued with the professionalization process occurring with the counselors involved here. As a future study, someone interested in the process of professionalization should investigate why this process occurs in a new program. I think that perhaps this will be one of the most significant recommendations that will come out of this program, and I mean significant in two senses, one, the results of such a study would have possible payoff for vocational rehabilitation and, two, it would have general theoretical potential for the social sciences."

The Denver conference also flashed one important warning signal. Participants from the Bureau of Prisons and the Probation Service rather pointedly complained that the entire meeting was VR oriented, that their interests, and any feedback of value to them, was, in fact, being continually minimized. Mrs. Matthews wrote in her conference notes: "I think this would be indeed a mistake if we allowed such a trend to continue, if it does exist, because it's important for us to remember that even though VR is the sponsoring and funding agency, it is indeed a research effort which should have value to each of the participating agencies."

In his Denver summation, Program Observer Claude C. Pangborn, poured a little oil on the ruffled surface, mostly by returning the focus to treatment:

> "There was nearly unanimous approval of the presentations by Dr. John M. MacDonald on Monday and Dr. Mark T. Farrell on Wednesday. The practical application of the research and clinical findings described in these talks was mentioned as valuable. As noted above, there was repeated reference to the importance of psychological factors and individual differences in the rehabilitation of the public offender and the critical significance concerning the quality of the client/counselor relationship. A word of caution was noted in pointing out the danger of seeing in final results what one anticipated in the beginning, e.g., the offender is psychologically ill. The 'changing role of the VRC' was noted repeatedly and how not only is the FOR-VRC functioning at a different level from current DVR practices (because of demands and needs), but also how the individual counselor varies in his function from project to project in accordance with individual and project needs. The concept of the counselor as a critical key professional worker seems generally accepted.
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> "The 'real live' demonstration by an Executive Committee meeting with case staffing (by Atlanta) was considered a highlight. Here was developed the notion of making good use of all available professional resources in the process of rehabilitation. This was considered an innovation and also another example of professionals from various disciplines pooling their skills and knowledge to accomplish a common goal.
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> "Improved communications, reduction in anxiety, less professional bickering and defensiveness, more friendliness and joking, greater levels of freedom in self-expression, were examples of improved staff relationships up, down, and across the FOR organization."

In summary, the third phase, which lasted from the fall of 1966 to the summer of 1967, was characterized by: 1) The development of positive informal staff relationships with the result that projects began to function as cohesive units. 2) Counselors became comfortable in the implementation of innovative services and the realization began to dawn upon them that they might actually become change agents instead of just purchasing agents. 3) As more realistic patterns of supervision emerged, conflict with parent VR agencies diminished. And, 4) the dwindling power of Program headquarters was made all the more apparent in its lack of absolute budgetary control.

Denver put us at approximately the half-way mark. Only one conference of full staff remained. All roads led to San Antonio now.

TRANQUILTY: SUMMER 1967 THROUGH FALL 1968

The late summer of 1967 ushered in a period of tranquility. The fourth phase was characterized by: 1) a continuation of solid intra-project staff relationships; 2) it also saw the routinization of treatment strategies; as 3) the focus in the projects drifted away from parent agency controversies to dwell almost exclusively on client needs; and 4) little was heard from Program headquarters, which had no role in local activities, and consequently, its influence upon the projects hit an all-time low.

The ability to conceive of intensive services continued to grow, and in all but one project, the opportunity to invent these services expanded. Only in Seattle, of all places, was the trend regressive. In that project during the last year of the Program it would be more difficult to obtain state approval for innovative services than it had been in the first year.

In general, however, most of the counselors were liberated from casework supervision and were authorized to approve their own rehabilitation plans and casework expenditures. In this changing atmosphere of creative freedom, although the VR counselor had originally entered the FOR experiment as an element foreign to federal corrections, he eventually emerged as the focal point of the FOR treatment concept.[38]

Sure that correctional rehabilitation was a success, most project staff members began to develop considerable interest in expanding FOR-type programs to other offenders. Some began to work on long-term solutions to specific problems, such as promoting local half-way houses for addicts. Even some special sub-studies were undertaken by certain projects.

A Springfield sub-project selected detailed life history data on several types of clients. These types were then divided into four outcome possibilities: 1) those accepting service and succeeding, remaining employed and out of jail; 2) those accepting service and failing, remaining unemployed or in jail; 3) those not accepting service and failing; and 4) those not accepting service and succeeding.

Atlanta initiated a sub-project designed to test the effectiveness of out-of-state referrals to other VR agencies, based on the fact that the majority of the inmate populations of most federal penal institutions are not natives of the states in which these institutions are located and consequently do not ordinarily have local release destinations.[39]

Not too much can be said about life in the projects after this; tranquility is just not newsy. By now, the VR staff had adjusted fairly well to the sudden and dramatic case failures inherent in working with public offenders. Even when an abundance of service had been provided, the counselors were no longer appalled by the spectacle of a shattered rehabilitation plan.

Of course, not everything was milk and honey. For instance, despite the steadying influence of Dr. Brewer and the skilled diplomacy of Mr. W. A. Crump, Project Director, the forthright Atlanta Executive Committee embroiled itself royally in internal strife over the amount of fees for consultant-therapists. This conflict lasted too long and was too bitter; it was to scar relationships in that otherwise productive unit for the rest of the Program.

Some good things also happened. As previously noted, Pittsburgh burst the bonds of restrictive regulations and plunged into a cooperative agreement with a private rehabilitation agency, thereby insuring innovation.

Denver instituted a group therapy program, which continued in successful operation until the close of the Program.

Seattle hired a rehabilitation aide, the significance being that he was a former public offender (at this writing, he is still operating effectively with Washington DVR, having been continued on the staff of the ongoing correctional rehabilitation program).

In summary, during the fourth phase, which lasted from the summer of 1967 to the fall of 1968, the FOR experiment progressed to a point of readiness for its final period. 1) Staff relationships had continued in a positive, productive fashion. 2) Treatment strategies had become more or less routinized. 3) Parent VR agencies had developed a remarkable tolerance for the strange activities that transpired in their domains and the even stranger vouchers that issued forth as part of the proceedings. And 4) the influence of Program headquarters, which had no role in local activities, hit the bottom — but that was soon to change in a radical fashion.

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[38] Although we have no data on the professionalization of the FOR counselor, his emerging role as the central figure in the experimental treatment concept virtually forced its way into our subjective analysis. Please note the quotation in Chapter IV drawn from various observer reports.

[39] Both of these studies are summarized in Appendix D, where information may also be found on obtaining copies of their full reports.

JUSTIFICATION:
FALL 1968 – FEBRUARY 1969

During the final period, which lasted from the fall of 1968 until the termination of field activities on February 28, 1969, the project staffs busied themselves cleaning up loose ends. This phase was characterized by: 1) the break-up of project staffs, as the counselors were reassigned to new responsibilities or, in some cases, took jobs with other agencies; 2) casework activities were concluded; 3) parent VR agencies were thereby afforded a sigh of relief; but most dramatically, 4) this period was distinguished by the reaffirmation of Program power as concern centered upon data summation and the submission of final reports.

Appropriately enough, the last round-up was held in Texas. The final Annual FOR Conference took place September 16-20, 1968 in San Antonio.

Mrs. Matthews announced once again: "We have consistently found no significant differences between the total experimental group and the total control group on our two major criteria of success, recidivism and employment. Again, such a statement, of course, is based on incomplete data and may be revised, but it has led us to conclude that sub-groups of the population may react differently to FOR treatment and hence, cancel the experimental effect." However, the project staffs had come to one salient conclusion by themselves: a reasonable number of public offenders, even recidivists, may be profitably rehabilitated.

And by now, via an exploratory process seldom marked by tranquility in its early stages and never stamped by complacency, we had awakened to the cheerful discovery that the disciplines of correctional and vocational rehabilitation counseling, psychiatry, psychology and sociology had all learned one from another and had bound themselves together toward a common goal. None of the FOR personnel staked claim to a preserve of final solutions. We still had much to learn. Effecting attitudinal changes and interrupting patterns of criminality remained a subjective and often mysterious business, but we had harvested some elusive knowledge that we did not have before.

Within the five months remaining after San Antonio there would be little else that might be done to change the course of FOR; so the conference emphasized the development of suggestions for the implementation of findings for ongoing programs. Five study groups focused on the following topics: administration, staff, recruitment and training, client eligibility and needs, cooperative agreements and counseling and ancillary services. The resulting specific suggestions will be found elsewhere in the report (See Appendix E).

Pervasively the San Antonio meeting served a deflationary purpose; it was too painful. Separation anxiety was not confined to a sensitive few. It was a raging epidemic.

From this point on until field operations were terminated February 28, 1969, the projects went into rapid deactivation, trying to close cases or transfer them to regular VR programs, hurrying to send all pertinent data to Seattle, and pulling together final reports; all the while staff were slowly slipping away toward different assignments or new jobs. By the time the projects phased out, all casework had been completed, most of the data were in, but no final reports were finished; this job had been left to project directors, always preoccupied by their regular duties or to counselors now assigned elsewhere.[40] It would be a while before any reports were finished (in October 1969, one was still outstanding).

SUMMARY

In summarizing the four parallel evolutionary developments that characterized the theoretical substance of the FOR Program, the following trends became visible:

1. Intra-project staff relationships began on a formal note. This changed rather early in the program, about five months into the experiment, and informality emerged, but relationships were nevertheless tense. Then this, too, underwent change, and positive informal relationships emerged. Finally, the project staffs welded themselves into functioning, cohesive units.

2. In the beginning, treatment in general did not differ from services offered by the regular VR program. However, as the FOR counselors began to identify the needs inherent in the unique struggles of their clients toward rehabilitation, they drifted away from their traditional job placement orientation and came to look upon themselves as change agents, as providers of service rather than procurers.

3. As long as the counselors continued to function in traditional fashion, parent VR agencies regarded the FOR projects they had agreed to sponsor with complacency. But when innovative vouchers began to appear in their auditing departments, and when new ways of doing things and new philosophies threatened to violate established policy, they reacted with restrictive measures and the battle with FOR was joined. However, patience and understanding on both sides eventually prevailed, and most of the projects were recognized as research, not service, units. Still, one received the impression that VR was relieved when the FOR Program finally went out of business.

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[40] Eight of the ten counselors remained with VR. Those from the following projects continued working with public offenders: Chicago A, Seattle A, Atlanta C and Seattle C. Of the two who left VR, one became employed as a U.S. probation officer and the second went to a mental health program. Of those who remained in VR, but not correctional rehabilitation, one returned to his old caseload in a tubercular hospital, one became a placement specialist, another was assigned to a general hospital and, at this time, the fourth counselor's new responsibilities were undetermined.

4. National FOR Program staff realized its finest hour in the beginning phase of the experiment, when it was able to exercise control over caseload assignment, data collection and administrative coordination in certain areas. This influence diminished, however, as the projects began to focus upon treatment and it became apparent that Program had no power to regulate treatment strategies and no role in local affairs. Program influence did not reaffirm itself until the final phase of operations, which emphasized data summation and the submission of final reports.

At the appointed hour, all field operations were terminated. Project staff members were transferred to other assignments or were duly mustered out. By the time you will have received this, Program headquarters will have ceased to exist. What now remains is an admonition for the future and the paper legend that you have before you.

In reading further, it might be remembered that the subjective material covered to this point profoundly influenced and complicated the outcome reflected in the objective data analysis remaining in this report. Not only were projects and the treatment they provided quite different from each other, but all projects changed considerably from 1965 to 1969. Although the first four months had been labeled a pre-test period (after the fact), the whole time period had been a pre-test. A very exploratory effort occurred that continued to show adaptation to newly acquired insights. Consequently, the objective data analysis itself was often exploratory, is now basically descriptive and will provide more questions for further research than definitive conclusions.

CHAPTER III THE CHOSEN ONES

All prisoners, releasees and probationers having residence within pre-set radius of the project offices were declared eligible for the FOR Program if they were between the ages of 16 and 55, citizens of the United States, and if they were incarcerated, had release dates prior to February 29, 1968. (One project handled only women, the rest only men.) The screening process based on the above requirements produced a total FOR population of 2,654 eligible clients. On an average, ten eligibles per month were found in each of the seven probation offices and five per month in each of the three institutions. Lists of potential clients, indicating eligible cases, were periodically submitted to the national research staff in Seattle, Washington. Certain judgmental categories were applied to all eligible cases. Prior to initial interview and based upon paper review alone, the vocational rehabilitation counselors placed each of the eligible clients in one of the following judgmental categories: likely to benefit from vocational rehabilitation services, indeterminate as to likelihood for benefitting, or not likely to benefit. At the same time, working independently of the counselors, chief correctional officers (either Chief U. S. Probation Officers or institutional Chiefs of Classification and Parole) placed eligibles in one of the following categories: likely to succeed under free world correctional supervision, indeterminate as to success, or not likely to succeed.

The research staff then divided the total eligible population into an experimental group (intensive service clients) and two control groups. A system of random selection was employed to insure that a comparable number of cases in each judgmental category was assigned to the experimental and control groups. Since eligibility for FOR services was not based upon the establishment of a physical or mental disability and since random assignment ignores the question of feasibility for successful rehabilitation, a major departure was taken from regular vocational rehabilitation selection procedures.

But even with random assignment considerable variation was found in the populations of the different projects in terms of legal status, criminal record and social background. Some of these clients required traditional vocational rehabilitation services, such as job training and restorative medical treatment, however most of their problems centered around attitudinal deviations.

CHAPTER III THE CHOSEN ONES

Just as the spotlight of attention shifted from the planners of the FOR Program to its operational field staff, the focus in the remainder of this report will shift from historical narrative to more technical matters and data analysis.

This present chapter describes the following: 1) how the FOR population was chosen; 2) how it was then broken up into experimental and control groups within judgmental categories; 3) what its characteristics were (generally and then project by project); and 4) what needs were perceived in the experimental group.

It might be remembered that Brewer's investigation in 1964, "A Vocational Rehabilitation Study of Prisoners, Probationers, and Parolees,"[41] revealed an inverse ratio between eligibility and the need for service. Again, it was Brewer who first strongly suggested that any VR demonstration project proposing to focus upon offenders should de-emphasize traditional disabilities related to physical handicaps and place greater stress upon mental and emotional problems, educational needs, desires and attitudes (toward receiving VR service), and sociopathic conditions.

Taking Brewer's suggestion into consideration, the architects of the FOR Program made the decision that the traditional VR criteria for establishing eligibility on the basis of physical or mental handicaps would not be employed in the selection of the FOR population. However, some limitations in client selection were imposed on the project operations primarily in the interest of

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[41] Brewer, *op. cit.*

TABLE III.1. – PROJECT DISTRIBUTION OF INTENSIVES, CONTROL I'S AND CONTROL II'S

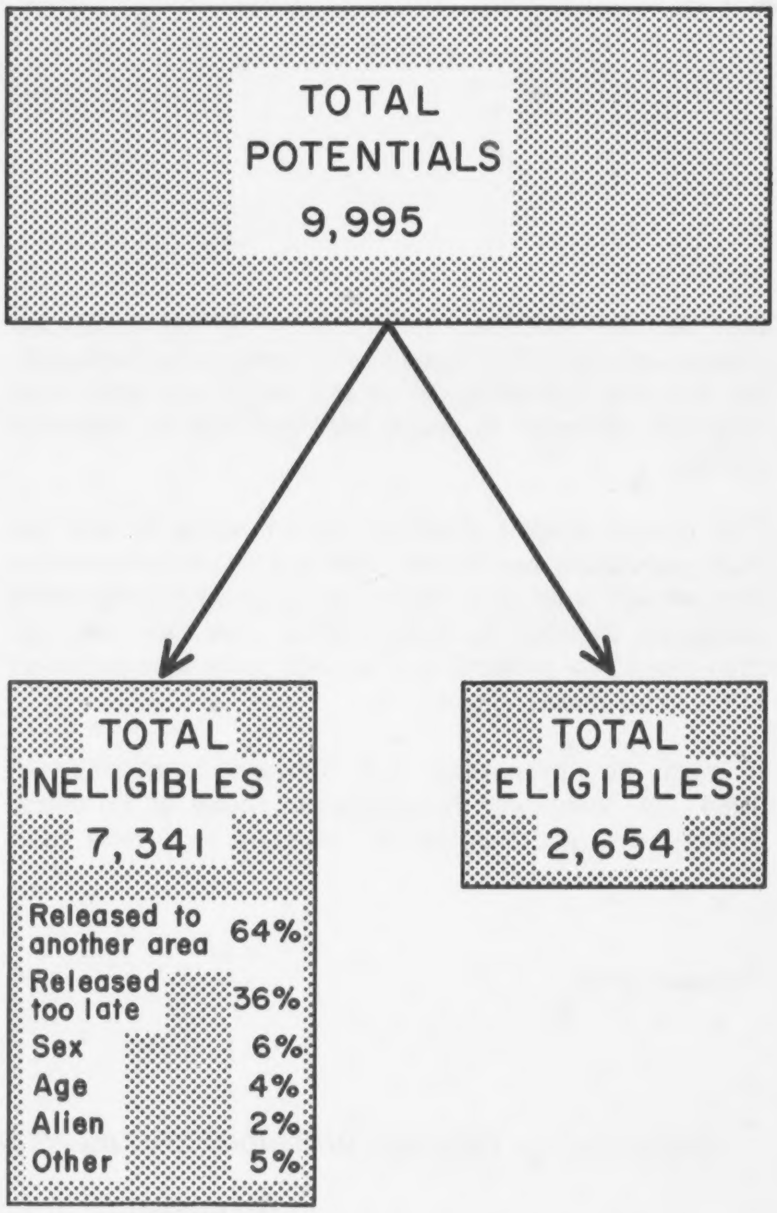
	INTENSIVE			CONTROL I			CONTROL II
PROJECT	Total	Excluded from Analysis	Included in Analysis	Total	Excluded from Analysis	Included in Analysis	
A							
Atlanta	62	1	61	62	1	61	248
Chicago	52	1	51	34	1	33	51
Denver	74	1	73	74	—	74	237
Seattle	81	1	80	81	2	79	186
Tampa	74	1	73	76	—	76	94
B							
Pittsburgh	57	3	54	57	1	56	195
San Antonio	66	3	63	66	3	63	129
Springfield	81	9	72	81	6	75	138
C							
Atlanta	45	2	43	40	1	39	26
Denver	21	4	17	19	4	15	20
Seattle	40	4	36	40	9	31	45
TOTAL	653	30	623	630	28	602	1369

maintaining conformity. Geographical spread and the time factor inherent in the duration of the FOR life span were also considered. Five basic elements constituted eligibility criteria:

1. Females were excluded, except in the Chicago project, which served only women.[42]
2. No one under 16 or over 55 was eligible.
3. No aliens or persons subject to deportation were eligible.
4. No one was selected whose potential release date from prison (anticipated expiration of sentence date) occurred after February 28, 1968.[43]
5. No one living in, or released to, areas beyond certain boundaries were eligible. The geographical limitations were set by each project, based on consideration of the territorial size that a counselor might reasonably be expected to cover without spending inordinant amounts of travel time.

Residence outside the project geographical areas proved to be the most common eliminating factor. However, the range of cases thus eliminated was broad; from 3 per cent in Chicago to 88 per cent in Denver C. Determining ineligibility by length of sentence, or release beyond prescribed date, was second in frequency among projects; 27 per cent of all ineligibles fell in this category. Across projects, only 12 per cent of the potential clientele were eliminated for reasons other than residence outside prescribed geographical areas and dates of release: that is, because of sex, age or lack of citizenship.[44] Based on the above criteria, lists of potential clients were periodically compiled by project participants. Of the cases screened throughout the program by all projects, 2,654 met eligibility requirements.[45]

FIGURE III.1. – REASONS FOR INELIGIBILITY AND EXCLUSION FROM *FOR* *



*Percentages add to more than 100 due to the use of multiple reasons for ineligibility.

These reasons for determining ineligibility, with the obvious exception of "sex," would also be considered by regular VR counselors, who are not prone to accept cases beyond their own geographical assignments or who would naturally be reluctant to serve inmates still to be incarcerated for inordinate lengths of time. The list of FOR eligibles (again totaling 2,654) approximates the total number of referrals any ten VR counselors working in similar environments might expect over a period of three years and four months, or, in other words, a single counselor would receive an average of eight clients per month. This would indicate that locations similar to those found in the FOR projects could more than support the allocation of one or more fulltime counselors.

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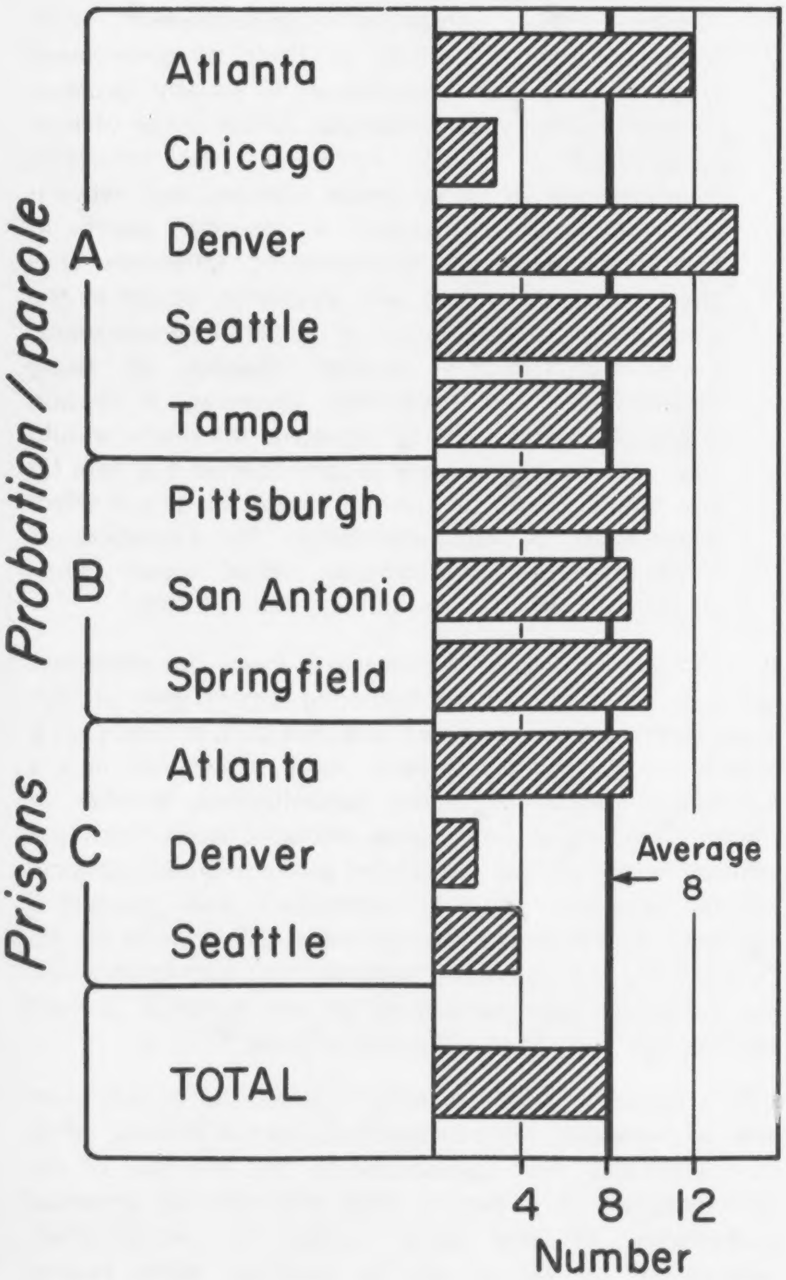
[42] Very few women are prosecuted under federal law. In 1965, 1,957 were sentenced in federal court. Of these, 1,306 were placed on probation and 651 were imprisoned. Chicago is one of the few cities large enough to have many women under federal supervision.

[43] As exceptions, 17 eligible cases did fall into this category due to a change in actual release dates. Five were never released during the FOR life span and 12 were released after May 31, 1968. These 17 cases were dropped from the research analysis. Those clients released between February 28, 1968, and May 31, 1968, were retained in the study since we were able to measure their outcome performance at the end of 9 months after release.

[44] If the C project eligibility determinations were eliminated, the 12 per cent figure comes up to 17 per cent, or nearly one-third of the total number of ineligibles. The "wrong" sex accounted for half of this 17 per cent, and an inappropriate age produced one-fifth of the cases found ineligible due to these frequently used determinants.

[45] Here again, the human element should not be ignored. A mixed variety of staff members was engaged in assessing eligibility. Some listed multiple reasons for their determinations; others gave only one, presumably whatever was considered primary (e.g., residence), and what was considered primary varied from project to project.

FIGURE III.2. – AVERAGE MONTHLY REFERRALS FROM SELECTED CORRECTIONAL AGENCIES (Project By Project Comparisons)



METHOD OF SELECTING EXPERIMENTAL CLIENTS FROM THE *FOR* POPULATION

In an effort to insure comparability, eligible clients were assigned to either the experimental ("intensive service") group or one of the two control groups by a system of random selection based on certain judgments[46] Prior to personal contact and based on paper review alone (either of pre-sentence investigations or admission summaries) VRC's and chief correctional officers (hereinafter often referred to as PO's), independent of one another, were asked to make quick prognostic evaluations of each eligible client. On their lists of potentials, VRC's indicated where any given client might fall among the following three possible categories: 1) likely to benefit from vocational rehabilitation services; 2) indeterminant as to benefit from services; and 3) not likely to benefit from services. The PO's classified the same clients as: 1) likely to terminate successfully a period of supervision (i.e., not become a recidivist while still under supervision); 2) indeterminant as to successful termination of supervision; and 3) not likely to terminate successfully a period of supervision.

The planners of FOR took the position that the whole subject of snap case evaluation should be brought out into the open. Perhaps things have changed for the better in some parts of the country, but in the early Sixties, most VR counselors and correctional caseworkers were swamped by oversized caseloads. Under these circumstances the shortage of time itself often defeated any attempt at comprehensive evaluation, and consequently judgments on client acceptance during the VR referral process and on proposed treatment programs determined by institutional classification committees were often hurried, and in some instances, based upon paper review alone.

As previously noted, to be accepted for services in regular programs, an applicant must have a physical or mental disability, established by a medical or psychological evaluation, serious enough to constitute a vocational handicap (i.e., the client must be eligible); but at the same time, this disability, or a combination of several disabling conditions, must not be so severe as to preclude reasonable prognosis for eventually entering employment after receipt of services (i.e., the client must also be feasible).

Idealistically, there should be no such thing as a non-feasible human being who is asking for help so he can work for a living, and, in fact, VR has recently imposed a close scrutiny upon the whole question of feasibility. As a result, it is rapidly losing its popularity as an exclusion factor, but a few years ago it was a powerful consideration on a par with eligibility. In the FOR Program, when a client was randomly assigned to the intensive service group, he was accepted for services regardless of his vocational prognosis. For example, a mentally retarded, illiterate veteran convict with thirteen prior commitments in his dosier, age 53, but without any work history worth mentioning, and without enough physical stamina to lift anything much heavier than a jug of juice, could well have been assigned to intensive service. In such a case, it became incumbent upon the counselor to exercise every skill and shenanigan in his repertoire, and to continue to, until every reasonable avenue toward rehabilitation had been explored. The funny thing is, a number of these "non-feasible" clients ended up rehabilitated.

In order to gain first-hand knowledge of the values that underlay these judgments, Program Observer Claude Pangborn was dispatched on a field survey. He interviewed a total of ten staff members in Atlanta, Chicago, Denver and Seattle; two VRC's, six probation officers and two counselors, not from FOR but regular VR program. Although we subjectively concluded that judgmental factors changed over time because change was recorded in judgments themselves, we have no hard data to support this and do not know what these values became. However, it must be emphasized that the following quotations, taken from Pangborn's report of February 3, 1966, reflect those judgmental values which prevailed early in the FOR Program.

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[46] The second control group was not used in the analysis and served the function of allowing the intensive and first control group to each stay within the caseload limits of 50. Hence, no further mention will be made of the second control group. For details on random assignment and the three assignment groups, see Appendix A.

> "It was difficult for these people (especially the counselors) to place numerical value upon any factor, e.g., age, work, criminal record, etc. and its effect upon the probable success of a client either in rehabilitation or probation/parole. All made quite a point of explaining that in each case a combination of factors rather than a single factor was the basis for success or failure.
>
> "Counselors tended to think of 'success' in terms of employment over an extended period of time and probation officers usually did not restrict the time period to that of 'supervision' but rather over the life of the FOR program.
>
> "Probation officers are more conservative in their evaluations of the relative importance that a particular factor has in achieving success or failure. They see 'success' more in terms of adjustment to organized society, whereas counselors seem more concerned about the satisfactions or happiness of the individuals – particularly with their employment.
>
> "In various ways all expressed conviction that something described as 'attitude,' 'basic philosophy,' 'outlook on life,' etc. seemed to be a vital factor in the degree of success of all cases. In a sense the knowledge we have of a client's response to all these other variables provides clues and a description of the client's 'general attitude.'
>
> "Seven of the ten interviewed were quite certain that ability to make accurate predictions about the outcome of a case was of little importance in the effectiveness of a probation officer or a counselor. The most frequently mentioned explanation was that while tentative predictions were unavoidable, one must keep an 'open mind,' be ready to change, 'be open to new and different ideas.' Also indicated was the danger of pre-judging a client and then 'unconsciously' favoring those courses or moves or pieces of information which tend to support the prediction (negative thinking seemed to be stessed – with its dangers – rather than positive thinking with desired goals)."

In February, 1966, Lohman, Wahl and Carter's paper, "Pre-sentence Report Recommendations and Demographic Data," reflected probation officer judgmental values inherent in their recommendations for either probationary supervision or imprisonment:[47]

> "In general terms, the proportion of recommendations for probation increase with the number of years of education (attained by the subject under judgment), average monthly income, higher occupational levels, residence, marital, and employment stability, participation in church activities, and a good military record. Recommendations for imprisonment increase proportionately where there are characteristics such as homosexuality, alcoholic involvement, the use of weapons or violence in the commission of the offense, the existence of family criminality, and drug usage. Age does not significantly distinguish between the two types of recommendations, and racial and religious differences are absent. The female, however, is more likely to be recommended for probation than the male offender.
>
> "Certain offense categories – embezzlement, theft from interstate shipments or theft of government property, and false statement – usually produce recommendations for probation, while other offense categories – bank robbery, the interstate transportation of stolen motor vehicles, and national defense law violations – usually result in recommendations for imprisonment. Offenders who plead guilty, have their own attorneys, or are in the community on bail, bond or personal recognizance, have significantly greater chances of being recommended for probation. However, a caution previously made, must be repeated: the reader should not make an all inclusive judgment from the data (in any single table) or infer a simple cause-and-effect relationship. A recommendation for probation or imprisonment is normally based upon some combination of characteristics or items of data."

If a similar grouping is attempted from the responses gathered by Pangborn, the following factors were of high importance to VR counselors; acquired skill, previous work stability, I.Q. and educational level. These fell into a mid-range; number of felony commitments, number of misdemeanor arrests, drug usage, alcoholic involvement and military record. A few factors fell into a mid-low category; marital stability, physical condition, and residential stability. With the exception of those ratings made by the Denver VRC, who generally assigned them high importance, the following were considered as low in value: current offense, age, and nature of current offense.[48]

VRC's tended to think in terms of successful employment over an extended, but not specified, period of time, while PO's addressed their assessments to the life span of the FOR Program (according to what they told us) or actual completion of any given release or probationary supervision. So far as can be detected, when passing judgment on the FOR clients who were released from prison upon expiration of sentence (one-fifth of the total population), they referred to the program span.

Although determining judgmental values was subjective in nature, it was interesting to speculate in one sense on the import of the actual judgments recorded in our objective data. For example, what might have happened if a normal referral system had been employed in the FOR Program? Would the PO's have been inclined to refer those cases they judged as not likely to succeed? And what would have happened if non-feasibility had been retained as an eliminating factor? Would the VRC's have denied assistance to some of those cases they judged as not likely to benefit from VR services?

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[47] Lohman, Wahl and Carter, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.

[48] Although the people interviewed by Pangborn did not place numerical values on judgmental factors, they did indicate relative importance, which enabled us to rank order these factors. The exceptional assessments rendered by the Denver counselor may possibly reflect his employment as a state parole officer prior to joining the FOR Program.

It will be remembered that lists of potentials were periodically submitted by projects to Seattle, indicating those clients found eligible under the basic criteria previously outlined, and those who were not. Two independently rendered judgmental indications accompanied the listing of each eligible case, one made by the VRC and the other by his correctional counterpart. The judgments listed by PO's simply were entered for data analysis, but an additional use was made of the VRC determinations. Cases were randomly assigned by the research staff in such a fashion that a comparable number of them in each category (B, likely to benefit from vocational rehabilitation services; ID, indeterminant as to benefit from services; and NB, not likely to benefit from services) were assigned to the experimental group (intensive service clients) and to the control group.

Some interesting facts turned up in the objective data analysis on the actual judgments rendered.[49] For example, the VRC's judgments were more often negative in the Atlanta A project than in any other project, whereas the most positive predictor was in San Antonio. Appearing to reflect the recidivistic nature of his institution's population, the PO's judgments in Atlanta C were more often negative than in the Denver C operation. The same held true in Atlanta A; the PO was more negative there than in the Seattle A project. The PO judgments in the B projects were all quite similar, in that their predictions reflected unusually high expectations for success.

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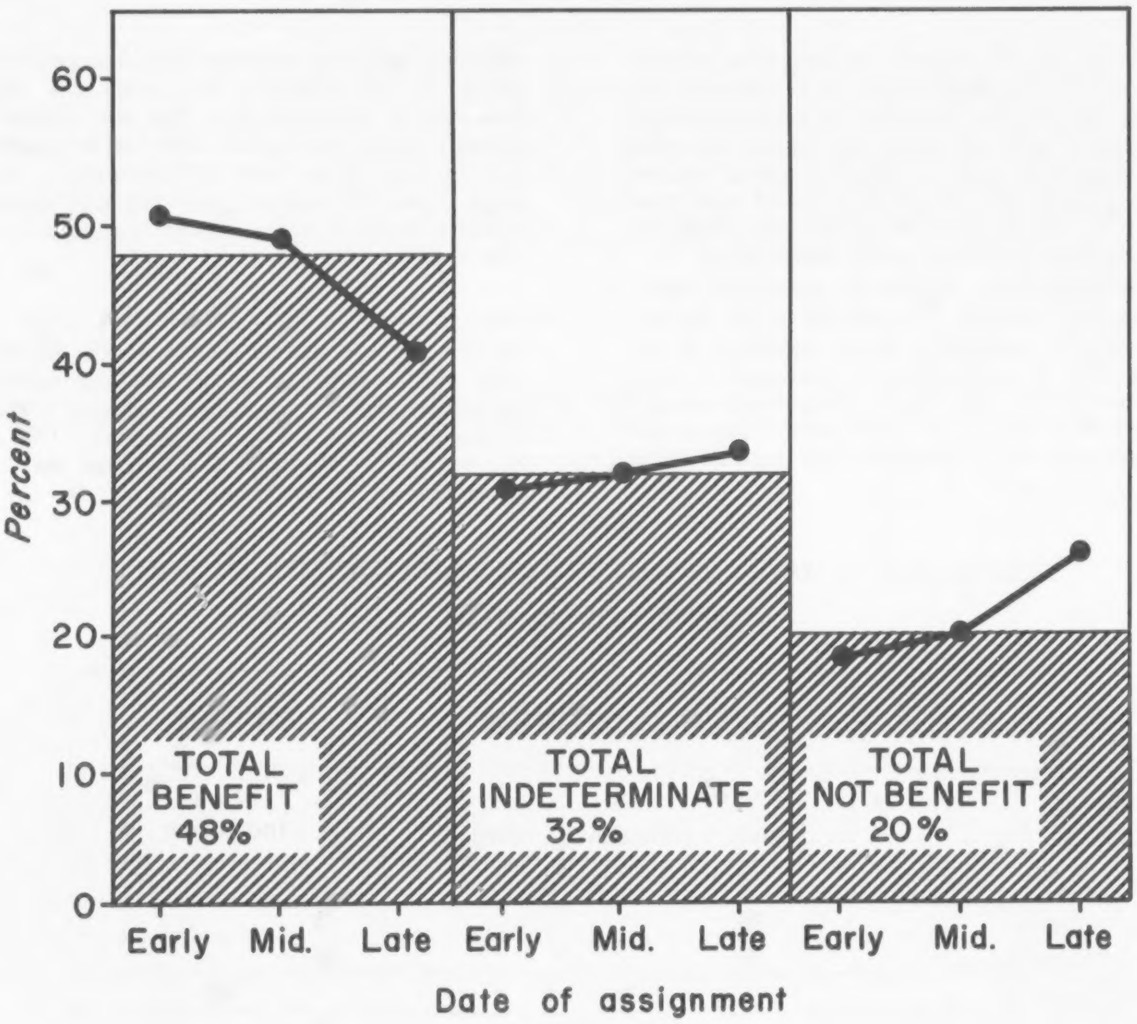
[49] Time prevented us from extensively examining social and criminal historical variables in relationship to judgment; however, the data are available on punched cards.

FIGURE III.3. – CHANGES OVER TIME IN VRO JUDGMENT OF THE FEASIBILITY OF OFFENDERS FOR VR TREATMENT*



*Early Assignment:	September 1965 to February 1966
Middle Assignment:	March 1966 to February 1967
Late Assignment:	March 1967 to February 1968

Substantial changes occurred in VRC judgment through the course of the FOR program, but their correctional counterparts, the PO's, remained fairly constant.[50] In any event, within the purpose of the FOR experiment, that is, to test the effectiveness of VR intervention, it was more important to note changes in VRC thinking over time than changes in PO judgment. The VRC represented a novice element to correctional rehabilitation and therefore might serve as a role model for correctional rehabilitation counselors of the future.

The VRC's definitely became less optimistic over time; if not more negative, then at least more indecisive. Although several factors affecting VRC judgments were doubtless inherent in project variation, probably the primary cause of the decline in optimism (at least as it was reported by the counselors themselves) lay in a growing awareness of the myriad and often mysterious difficulties encountered in trying to rehabilitate public offenders. If Ericson's comments[51] are any indication of what actually happened, the VRC's began the FOR study in abundant confidence that VR services would accomplish what correctional agencies had never been able to attain. Then, as the counselors confronted real live public offenders, who presented an array of problems that had scant relationship to employment, and as the counselors witnessed the disintegration of many vocational rehabilitation plans they believed to be soundly conceived, their morale began to plummet and the high esteem they had originally afforded their traditional bag of tricks went down with it.

Ericson concludes, however, that as time passes and counselors profit from this school of hard knocks, and begin to develop techniques and resources previously foreign to them, and as rewards begin to be realized in terms of successful case closure, counselor judgments become more realistic and swing back toward the positive, finally to rest somewhere between the two extremes. Although we do not have enough trend data to support this, it may be subjectively speculated that pay-off, in a return to realistic optimism, if indeed it did develop in FOR, would have been generated by cases often pessimistically judged during the middle and the third, or final measuring period, but which were closed successfully thereafter. Since no judgments were made by the time this could have occurred, our trend data cannot reflect this final attitudinal change. But the decisions of most FOR counselors to continue working with public offenders after the termination of the FOR Program did tell us something.

FIGURE III.4. – VRO JUDGMENT – OVERALL DIRECTION AND CHANGE OVER TIME

PROJECT	OVERALL OPTIMISM			CHANGE		
	< Avg.	Indecisive	> Avg.	–	More Indecisive	+
A						
Atlanta	●			●		
Chicago	●			●		
Denver		●			●	
Seattle		no difference		●		
Tampa		no difference		●		
B						
Pittsburgh	●				●	
San Antonio			●		●	
Springfield		●			●	
C						
Atlanta		no difference		●		
Denver			●		●	
Seattle		●				●

---

[50] We did think for awhile that PO judgment became more positive, particularly during the first year and a half of operations. This then led us to believe that perhaps the PO's were being influenced by what they observed of VRC activities, that maybe they were beginning to feel that VR services could enhance success prognosis. Did this change mean that PO's would have then referred more clients to VR under a normal program, had they not been bound to the FOR system of random assignment?

A closer look at this supposition, project by project, however, made it appear that the thought was derived from reduced negativism in the Plan C operations alone, especially at the Atlanta Penitentiary. The three classification and parole officers produced over one half of the total negative judgments rendered by all PO's during the first period of measurement, and by the time that period ended, they had pronounced over one-half of the negative predictions that they would make throughout the entire course of the Program. But when the second period was measured, it was discovered that the number of Plan C cases declared eligible during that time had dropped from 33 per cent to 6 per cent of the total FOR population. In other words, the major source of negative judgments had disappeared, and what appeared to be a change toward the positive was the result of their absence.

[51] These remarks in the narrative were drawn primarily from a conversation between Ericson and Mrs. Matthews on June 15, 1966. Although these remarks were not specifically reported in the Ericson report, they are derived from that study. Richard C. Ericson and David O. Moberg, Ph.D., *The Rehabilitation of Parolees,* Final Report of R & D Grant No. 1551 (Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center: 1968).

In summary, the traditional determination of eligibility and feasibility was eliminated by a system of random selection, based upon judgmental categories, that insured comparability between experimental and control groups. On the other hand, it should also be noted that the change in judgmental pattern over time reflected a shift in the counselors' perception of their offender clientele.

DESCRIPTION OF THE *FOR* POPULATION

This section will present descriptive material, not broadly on public offenders, but rather on federal offenders, and then it will go from there to relate how clients of the various projects deviated from this norm.

It is often erroneously believed that federal prisons are designed to house inmates too intractable to be contained in state institutions, when this is not the fact. Most federal crimes carry an interstate connotation and are acts against property rather than persons. According to the Administrative Office of the U. S. Courts, in 1965 (the year the FOR Program began) the most common federal offense was interstate transportation of a stolen motor vehicle (violation of the Dyer Act), followed in succession by violation of Internal Revenue Liquor Laws, violation of federal regulatory statutes, violation of immigration laws, theft (to include mail theft, theft of U. S. property and thefts occurring on government reservations), and forgery of obligations and securities of the United States.[52]

Although bank robbery is one of the more spectacular federal crimes and is therefore usually afforded ample news coverage, its incidence rate is not high. Bank robbery, of course, cannot usually be accomplished without resort to threat of arms, but to the extent of this potentially dangerous aggression, this offense is more of an exception to the nature of federal transgressions than a rule. Bank robbery is most often a federal crime simply because most banks belong to the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

Two examples of interstate violations are transportation of stolen securities (e.g. credit cards) and theft of goods from a cross-country shipment. Purloining mail is another federal crime. So is counterfeiting. Busing prostitutes from Los Angeles to Las Vegas, unlike carrying coals to Newcastle, can get an enterprising procurer nabbed by the FBI.

As a matter of fact, shooting migratory birds out of season can hail the hunter before a federal judge if he gets caught; and tampering with an FHA loan application can get a man into more federal trouble than that.

Selling illicitly manufactured and untaxed whiskey is known as violation of Internal Revenue liquor laws, but it is often difficult to convince a bootlegger that he has committed a crime, particularly if he comes from a long line of North Georgia hill folks who have been making the stuff since the days before it was against the law.

On the other hand, persons involved in crimes of violence ordinarily do not gain admission to federal courts unless their atrocities were committed within specific federal jurisdictions, such as the Army, the high seas, some territorial possession, Fort Knox, or perhaps, the White House lawn.

The wide variety of crimes which can be committed under federal law, even after most crimes of violence are excluded, gave FOR a very diverse population. For example: some were better educated than others, some had been involved in a series of commitments while for others this was their first offense. We have not attempted to create a composite FOR offender, but instead will describe the offender generally in terms of those most commonly found in the FOR population so that the reader will have some basic information on age, legal status, and other background characteristics. No association should be inferred from this list, that is, probation cannot be considered the common legal status of auto thieves. Nor should the absence of other categories be inferred, such as parolees or prison releasees within legal status. Given these qualifications, the most freqently occurring characteristics of the FOR offender are as follows:

1. Legal status: Probationer
2. Current offense: Theft of auto across state line
3. Number of prior arrests: 1-2
4. Age at first arrest: Over 25
5. Most serious prior commitments: None prior
6. Sex: Male
7. Age at assignment to FOR: 22-25
8. Race: White
9. Education (last grade completed): 9th-11th
10. Marital status: Married
11. Health status: Satisfactory
12. Use of narcotics: Non-user
13. Use of alcohol: Social drinker

Using this description as a point of departure, the following passages will present the unique characteristics of offenders by project.[53]

When data analysis revealed considerable differences in the offender characteristics of the various projects, field staff were invited to comment on the more striking dissimilarities and to offer possible explanations as to why they existed. This was done with the thought that their suggestions would provide leads we could check with more scientific precision; however, lack of time prevented us from analyzing them. The data in the following passages, however, are interspersed with these field staff comments, presented, not as conclusions per se, but as their subjective statements which serve to highlight the differences in project populations and, even more, to project some idea of how offenders were perceived by staff (particularly counselors).

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[52] Administrative Office of the U. S. Courts, Division of Procedural Studies and Statistics, *Federal Offenders in the United States District Courts – 1965* (Washington, D. C.: 1966), pp. 64-65.

[53] Within projects, the experimentals tended to have a poorer or more negative prognosis than the controls given evidence from prior studies. If prior studies predicting, for example, parole success or failure are any indication of the background characteristics that predetermine an offender's chance of successful community adjustment, then FOR experimentals tended to have poorer chances of success than did controls when these differences are looked at within projects. Some of this is useful to know in reviewing the following population descriptions by projects. For further details on the differences and their trends, see Appendix F, Tables 16 to 30.

Here again, it should be remembered that the FOR population was divided into an experimental group (intensive service clients) and a control group. Unless otherwise indicated, the descriptive comments below refer to the total population of the various projects, that is, intensives and controls.

Atlanta Plan A, as well as being at the top of the alphabetical order, is a tidy place to begin describing project population, since the group monitored under this project revealed fewer exceptions to the norms of the total FOR population and therefore, in that sense, might be described as typical.

In short, there was nothing remarkable here with reference to legal status, most common offense, age at first commitment, number of commitments, age at first commitment or first arrest, education, marital status, or use of alcohol. However, the intensive clients were found to be in a younger age span than usual. Counselor Jack Tipton attributed this to the high incidence of school drop-outs in the Atlanta area, stating that this had spawned a large number of restless, unemployed youth upon the city streets, without constructive supervision of any nature, and therefore, vulnerable to mischief. On the other hand, perhaps because of its youth, the Atlanta Plan A population exhibited a limited number of medical problems. Also, this project enjoyed the advantage of being located in one of the few greater metropolitan areas of the country conspicuously free of traffic in hard narcotics.

The only women assigned to the Program were in Chicago A; according to Counselor Ellen Jo Ryan, this immediately explained several items. Probationers predominated over prison releasees. Apparently judges are more inclined to grant women probationary sentences instead of packing them off to incarceration — particularly if they have children. Miss Ryan said this judiciary tendency can also be explained, in part, by the observation that women are less likely than men to become repeaters or to violate probation.

The most common offenses of this group were narcotics violations, larceny, and forgery. These crimes are typical to female offenders, who rarely become involved in armed robbery or even auto theft and whose crimes are usually passive in nature. Since women commit fewer crimes than men, the number of arrests was relatively small in Chicago. Fewer early arrests were recorded among the intensive clients, more of whom fell in the 25-35 year age brackets than in other project, but Miss Ryan stated that there was no apparent reason for this.

FIGURE III.5. – DISTRIBUTION OF PAST CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR FOR TOTAL POPULATION

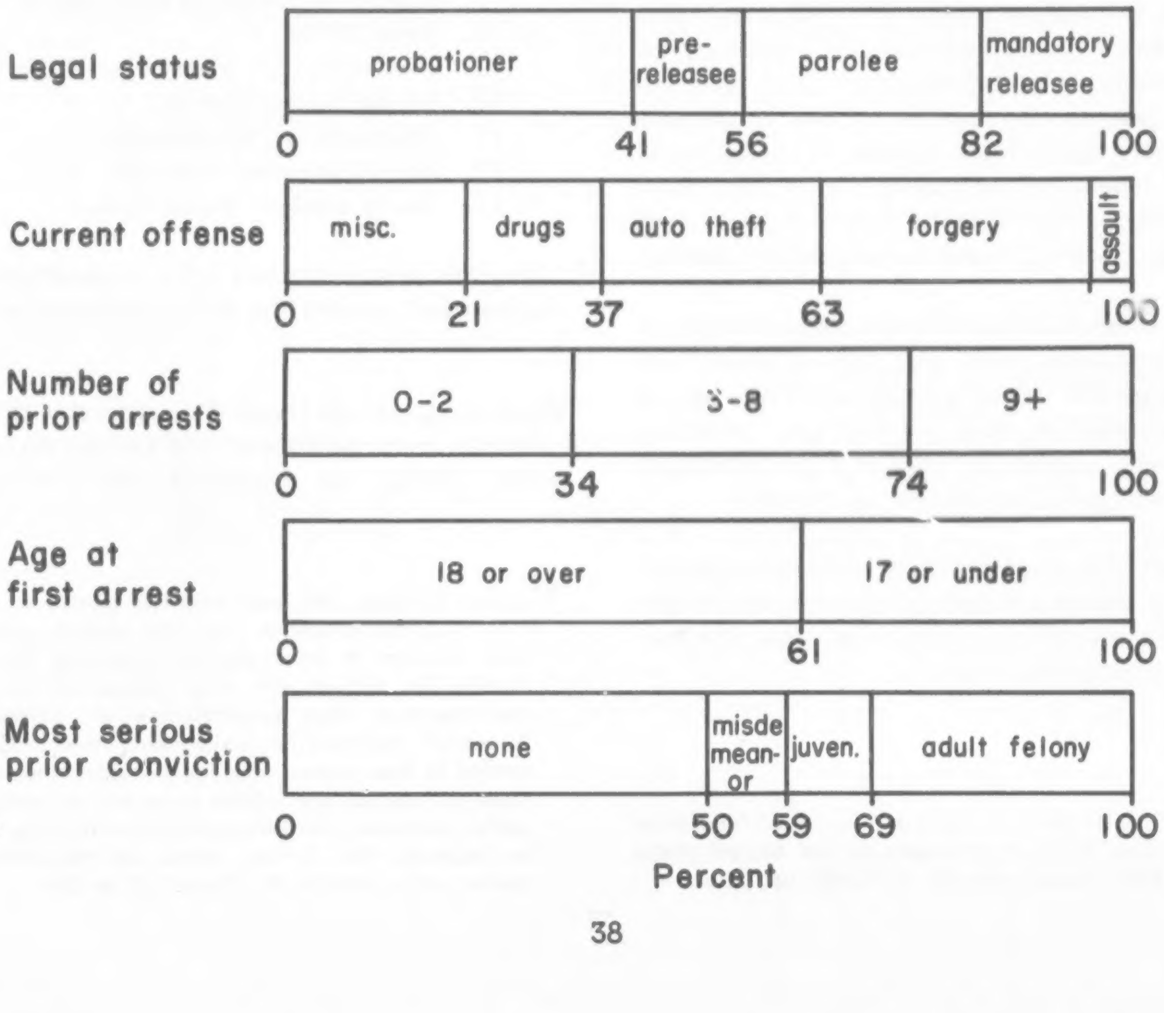
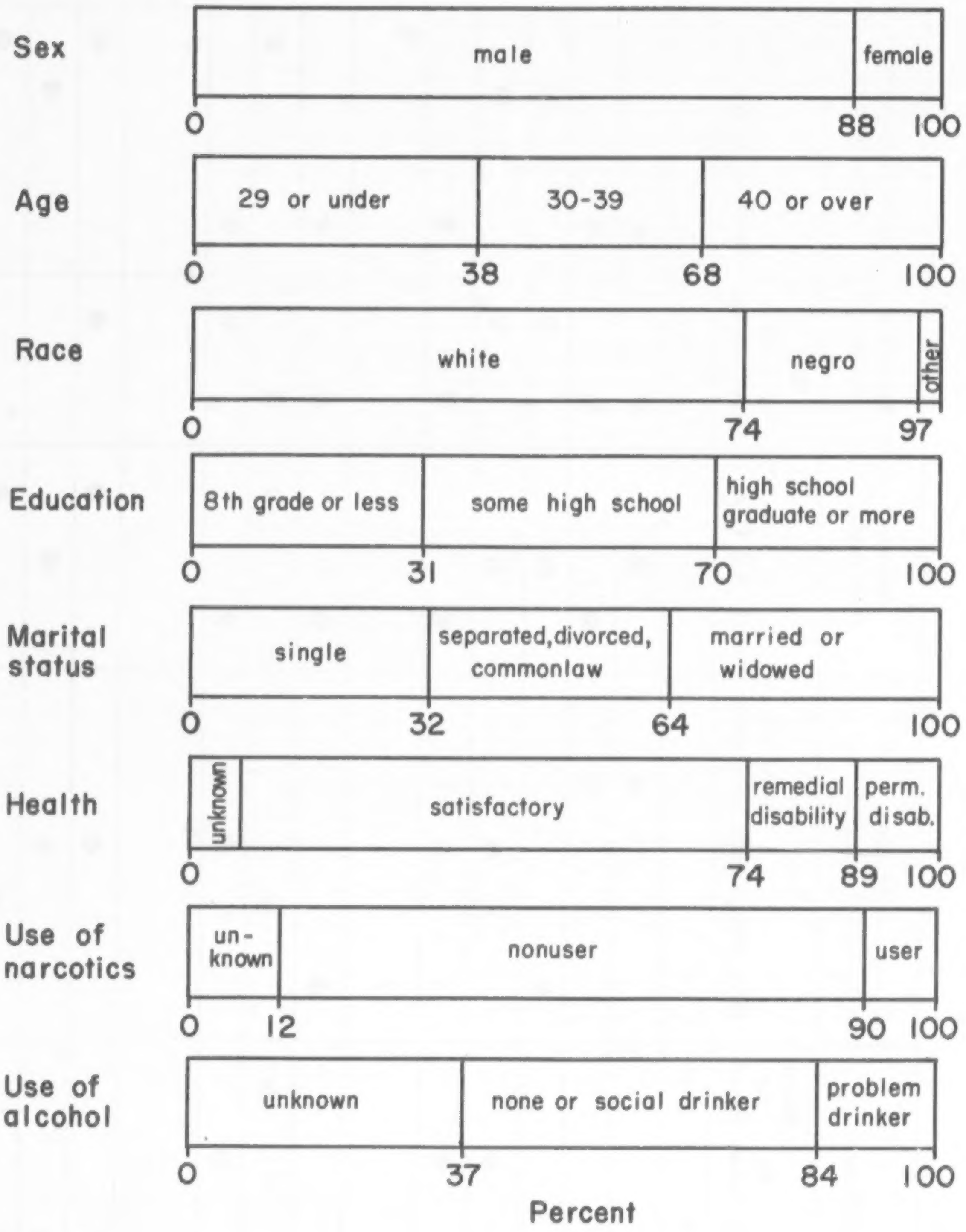


FIGURE III.6. – DISTRIBUTION OF DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS FOR TOTAL POPULATION



Fewer whites turned up in the Chicago sample. Miss Ryan attributed this to the city's very large non-white population. More health problems were noted, 26 per cent of the total caseload, i.e., intensive clients and controls, having been afflicted by one or more physical infirmities. This probably is correlated, in some measure, with the preponderance of narcotics users.

Marital separation was more common in this project, and many Chicago clients received Aid to Dependent Children. Miss Ryan said that these women were deserted by the kind of husband, or common-law spouse, who seldom burdens himself with more than a casual sense of responsibility toward his offspring.

If addiction to narcotics was a prominent exception, abuse of alcohol was not. In fact, fewer drinking problems were found in Chicago than elsewhere. Why this was so is difficult to say, unless one wishes to speculate that women are more adept at concealing alcoholism than men. In any event, Miss Ryan's honest comment on her populations' apparent freedom from habituation was: "I have no idea how to account for this."

One offense was noted more often in the Denver A population than in any other project: violation of the National Defense Act. Counselor Richard Tinsley offered an explanation for this in the fact that there were a number of Jehovah Witnesses in the Denver area, and the district

FIGURE III.7. – CRIMINAL HISTORY CHARACTERISTICS: Project by Project Comparison*

	Legal Status				Offense—FOR Inclusion					Number Prior Arrests			Age—First Arrest		Most Serious Prior Commitment			
	Prob.	Releasees	Parolees	Mand. Releasees	Misc.	Drugs	Auto	Forgery	Assault	0-2	3-8	9-Over	18-Over	17-Under	None	Misd.	Juv.	Felony
A																		
Atlanta	●							●			●		●		●			
Chicago	●							●		●			●		●			
Denver	●				●						●			●			●	
Seattle			●				●				●			●			●	
Tampa			●				●			●			●		●			
B																		
Pittsburgh	●				●					●			●		●			
San Antonio				●		●						●	●					●
Springfield			●				●			●				●	●			
C																		
Atlanta		●					●					●		●				●
Denver		●					●				●						●	
Seattle		●				●						●						●

*Circle denotes that category is over-represented (i.e., is greater than overall proportion).

FIGURE III.8. – DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS: PROJECT BY PROJECT COMPARISON – (Circle Denotes That Category Is Over-Represented [Greater Than Over-All Proportion])

	AGE			RACE			EDUCATION			MARITAL STATUS			NARCOTICS			ALCOHOL			HEALTH PROBLEMS		
	≤29	30-39	≥40	White	Black	Other	≤8	9-11	≥12	Singl	Marrd	Other	Unk	Non-User	User	Unk	Some	Prblm	None	Remed	Perm
A																					
Atlanta	●				●		●				●			●			●		●		
Chicago	●				●			●				●			●		●			●	
Denver	●			●					●	●				●			●		●		
Seattle	●			●				●		●				●			●		●		
Tampa	●			●					●		●			●				●			●
B																					
Pittsburgh			●		●			●			●		●			●				●	
San Antonio		●				●	●				●				●		●				●
Springfield	●			●				●		●				●		●				●	
C																					
Atlanta C			●		●		●					●		●				●			●
Denver C	●			●				●		●				●		●			●		
Seattle C			●		●		●					●		●				●			●

*San Antonio had a large percentage of Mexican-Americans who fell in this category.

judges had adopted a policy of placing these objectors on probation with the condition that they seek hospital employment for two years. Tinsley said that this arrangement was satisfactory to the members of the sect since it apparently did not compromise their religious beliefs.

In Denver A, youth characterized the intensives (the experimental group), but was not noticeable in the total client population. However, more convictions early in life were evident across the board, which again probably reflected the high incidence of juvenile crime in urban areas.

The Seattle A group presented fairly average characteristics, although in general more intensives were in the twenty-thirty age span than was true for the total population, and more of them were bachelors. The total population raised the curve in number of high school graduates.

One characteristic of the Tampa A group was not readily explainable. Prison releasees outnumbered probationers, more so than usual in Plan A Projects, perhaps, as some unofficial sources indicated, because the sentencing philosophy in this particular district leaned more toward the strict side of legal interpretation and relied more on incarceration as an instrument of resocialization than on community supervision.

Although the controls in Tampa A were not as healthy as the total FOR population, the intensives were not noticeably stricken by medical problems. Like those in Seattle A, most of these people fell in the 20 to 30 year age bracket.

In Pittsburgh B, probationers, and not ex-inmates, abounded. Fewer arrests and fewer prison commitments were the rule. This was where we found a large number of offenders convicted of wagering or income tax evasion; and somehow most of these people ended up in the experimental group, rather than the control group. Aside from the not easily defined need for adjustment counseling following the shock of conviction in a public court of law, a number of the Pittsburgh probationers could probably have survived vocationally without VR services.

In San Antonio B, counselor Irby Adams reported that the fewer number of probationers and the larger number of mandatory releasees was apparently due to the high use of heroin in the area where the majority of the project population resided. He said that violation of narcotics laws usually resulted in strict sentences, and that forgery and larceny were often committed to support the drug habit. According to Adams, the San Antonio intensive clients probably committed more felonies because of this heavier involvement with drugs.

Drug addiction is a disabling condition that most VR counselors try to avoid working with if they possibly can. The reason is understandable: prognosis for stable, legitimate employment is very poor, given present VR techniques. So Counselor Adams, with even more users on his caseload than Miss Ryan had in Chicago, held the sympathy of his counterparts in other projects.

Adams also said that the lower educational level of the San Antonio population was believed to have been due to cultural differences. In this reference, he commented that a very large percentage of the project population was composed of Latin Americans, who frequently have a limited education.

With reference to the fact that data analysis revealed fewer abuses of alcohol in the San Antonio population, Adams contended that alcohol abuse may have been a more serious problem with more San Antonio clients than analysis of the pre-sentence material indicated.

In Springfield B, there were fewer probationers among the intensive cases, also fewer probationers and more mandatory releasees among the total project population. According to Marshall McKinney, Chief U. S. Probation Officer for the Eastern District of Illinois, who prepared the Springfield Project Report on caseload variance, this was so because more serious crimes were committed in the Springfield area. It was also true, McKinney reported, because of the migratory, or transient, nature of the project population. McKinney described this Midwest area as somewhat of a crossroads and reported that a substantial percentage of offenders arrested and prosecuted in that immediate area were violators of the Motor Vehicle Theft Act, were non-residents, and were merely arrested or apprehended while passing through the district. In such cases, McKinney said, when the individual did not have an approved release plan to some other district, it was policy that he be returned to the district of origin, that is, the district court where sentence was imposed. Under those circumstances, Springfield received proportionately more mandatory releasees than probationers and parolees.

The Atlanta Plan C group had a record of more arrests, more felony convictions and more commitments than the average population because the U. S. Penitentiary at Atlanta is a close custody institution primarily designed for recidivists. This also explained the advanced ages of these offenders, averaging somewhat over 40 years. The small number of high-school graduates gave further indication of the limited educational standards and opportunities of pre-war Georgia. Although rural Georgia, in both black and white communities, as part of the Southern Bible Belt, is strongly religious, common-law marriage does not bear very much of a stigma in the lower socio-economic areas of Atlanta, and Counselor Scott Fulton said that this probably explained why the Atlanta C offenders took advantage of these less binding arrangements.

Through adulthood marked by irregular behavior, frequently interspersed with incarceration, these veteran convicts developed compounding patterns of failure in all meaningful areas: marital, vocational and psycho-social. To compensate for these failures and the inevitable feelings of inadequacy that resulted, whether conscious or not, they frequently resorted to the crutch of alcohol. Georgia is "moonshine country" and abounds in bootleggers, yet Atlanta was fortunate in one respect. Traffic in hard narcotics had so far not flourished to any appreciable extent in this city, and drug addiction was simply not common to this population.

In the Denver Plan C group, auto theft was the most common offense. Counselor Richard Tinsley (who, it might be remembered also served the Denver Plan A Project) pointed out that this was consistent with the young population at the Englewood reformatory, since an overwhelming majority of youthful federal offenders are convicted of interstate transportation of stolen motor vehicles. Since the population was drawn entirely from Englewood, Tinsley said that it was also only natural that a preponderance of early arrests, i.e., under the age of 17, prevailed. More of these young offenders were bachelors than in other projects and fewer of them were credited with prior felony convictions.

The characteristics of the Seattle Plan C population varied somewhat from the Atlanta C group, in that its prominent problem areas, while similar, were not quite so advanced. McNeil Island was designed as an intermediate penitentiary where Counselor Wally Green reported that two types of inmates primarily were housed: older recidivists who were not serious control risks and older first offenders with more lengthy sentences. Most of the recidivistic portion of the McNeil population had served at least two prior penal commitments; they exhibited a high number of prior arrests and convictions. Common-law marriage, divorce and separation colored the over-all pattern of marital status. Median age was middle thirties and educational level was between the ninth and tenth grades. Health problems were not found to any appreciable degree.

In summary, the FOR population, while possibly atypical in some respects to public offenders in general, and varying from project to project, was united in the profound difference it presented when compared to the physically and mentally handicapped persons normally found in the ranks of VR recipients: the nature of the primary disability it presented was difficult to determine. In the beginning, the FOR counselors were justified in their confusion. They wondered if criminality were a mental disease unto itself, or a social sickness. They wanted to know what to call it — character disorder, or just plain criminality, or what? And no one stepped forth to answer them. Nevertheless, bombarded by new experiences, harassed by untraditional pressures and introduced to alien surroundings, it became incumbent upon the FOR counselors to assess the needs of the elusive clientele they had been commissioned to serve.

CLIENT NEEDS

Determining client needs, or those of any human, is a highly subjective business and any methodology employed is, peradventure, open to controversy. It would have been possible to program an analysis of listed disabilities, and then attempt to derive some picture of needs from that, only it would have not done any good; fully 90 per cent of the FOR intensive clients were simply coded as suffering from "character disorder." However, it was virtually impossible to accumulate hard data on the subject. In general, since needs were assessed in categories too broad to lend themselves to statistical data, the composition of this section was forced to rely upon a source of more or less sympathetic introspection: the assessments of counselors. Determining or "establishing," needs is not a process that is foreign to VR counselors. In fact, they are normally required to produce a need for any given service. Some needs are easy to identify, and some are not. For example, it is safe enough to assume that an amputee with a worn-out prosthesis needs a new arm or leg, particularly if an orthopedist agrees.

On the other hand, identifying the needs of healthy looking, randomly assigned public offender clients who never heard of vocational rehabilitation and probably don't trust social agencies anyway, can present certain problems. One of them is that public offenders seem to enjoy deceiving others, and, not only that, but they often display remarkable talents toward self-deception as well. This can result in the formulation of false plans. For instance, needs expressed as paramount by clients in the structured environment of incarceration can be superseded rapidly by others under the shock of different stress situations in the post-release competitive free world. But the biggest obstacle of all, in the beginning of the FOR program, lay in the VRC's limited focus upon vocational matters alone.

Along this line, Counselor Scott Fulton of Atlanta had this to say: "Evaluating true client needs is an extremely complex process. To the best of our knowledge, there are no standardized tests that would suffice in working with offenders. It is extremely difficult to identify needs because offender clients themselves have a great deal of difficulty in formulating an accurate expression of them. It is our belief that they do not necessarily do this capriciously, but out of an innate inability to recognize their own feelings. It is believed that the best known method for evaluating offender needs derives from a multi-disciplined team approach to case diagnostics. Each case must be examined individually, and we do not have a standard procedure that might be applied to all of them. Until something more concrete is presented, a studied consideration of available objective data moderated by encounter observations and subjective professional judgment must remain in consideration as our most reliable yardstick."

One of the significant things pointed out by Counselor Dick Tinsley of Denver was: "Most of the clients had some type of skill or occupation which they could have utilized if it had not been for personality problems." Tinsley also said, "It is felt that the Denver Project was notoriously poor in spotting these client needs initially. Those whom we felt would respond well to traditional-type programs many times reacted in a negative manner; whereas, other clients, who looked hopeless at the beginning stages, would respond very well to programs which initially were not felt to be all encompassing. Inaccurate initial identification, per se, did not ultimately affect client success: sometimes it would be a barrier to the correctional staff or the counselor as they tended to stereotype a person, thereby excluding some services, but once involved in the project, it was felt that these mechanisms of stereotyping diminished."

So, as time went by and the FOR counselors began to look beyond considerations pertaining to employment alone, they probably became as accurate as anybody could be in assessing the needs of public offenders. Therefore, as inclusions to the project final reports, they were asked to provide summaries of their clientele needs, using hindsight. It seemed logical to assume that most of the needs they recorded existed at the point of assignment to FOR, or at least were inherent at that time, but a number of them were not revealed until some later period in the diagnostic or casework process. The paragraph below offers a compendium of modal categories, and it will be followed by an index of those needs most specifically related to the clients of each project.[54]

Most of the FOR clients needed one, or more, of the following: 1) basic maintenance of food, shelter or clothing (often on an emergency basis); 2) adequate employment commensurate with ability; 3) vocational guidance; 4) medical treatment; 5) vocational training; 6) dental care; 7) increased income; 8) community orientation; 9) increased social outlets; 10) academic training; 11) remedial education; 12) legal assistance; and 13) similar services for dependents.

But they primarily needed 1) to be accepted and understood, 2) to recognize and adjust to their own feelings, 3) to develop a sense of personal responsibility, and 4) to overcome domestic problems.

In reviewing the following index of needs peculiar to the various projects, one should not consider these categories as primary to the exclusion of the need to recognize personality problems, but only that the categories recorded here either were not reflected in the compendium above or seemed particularly important to the counselor who reported them.

Because of its youth, the clientele of the Atlanta A project needed guidance toward developing healthy maturity. Lack of education or training was also evident.

In Chicago, many of these female clients were in need of day care for their children so that they might be able to work or pursue programs of vocational training. Addiction to narcotics was a major problem. In addition to treatment, this disability produced a need for after-care and community readjustment.

In Denver, Counselor Dick Tinsley made the definitive statement that 100 per cent of his clientele needed guidance and counseling. Money for maintenance and transportation was ranked second.

Seattle A identified legal assistance as a need; five clients were afforded this service. Training needs, both vocational and academic, reflecting the younger population in this project, ranked exceptionately high.

Even greater than in Seattle, in Tampa, 90 per cent of the cases needed upgrading of educational level and vocational training.

Some of the unusual needs listed in Pittsburgh were union dues, auto repairs, music lessons, and driver's training.

In San Antonio, assistance needed in overcoming drug addiction persisted in 66 per cent of this clientele, the highest in the program. Alcoholism was eventually discovered as a problem also.

Since Springfield had not submitted a final report at the time of this writing, it was impossible to indicate the needs discovered in that project.

In reference to the recidivistic population of the U.S. Penitentiary at Atlanta, the Plan C counselor here reported that his clientele, primarily had to overcome fear of the free world after so many years secluded behind bars.

Drawn from the population of a youth institution, the clientele of Denver C presented problems attributed to delinquency: lack of adequate supervision and guidance toward mature adjustment.

Emerging from the penitentiary, the clients of Seattle C, had problems similar to those in Atlanta C, and were frequently in need of clothing and basic maintenance.

In short, FOR clients were found to be in want of assistance in many of the vocational, medical and psychological areas served by regular VR programs, but taken in combination, personality problems threaded the modal norm, and no matter how many, or how few, of these needs any one client revealed, it was important to remember that the conquest of attitudinal problems was pertinent to his rehabilitation.

In summary, this chapter describes how the FOR population was chosen. We have shown that traditional VR criteria for establishing client eligibility on the basis of physical or mental handicaps were not required. Instead, eligibility was based on factors of age, sex (females were excluded in all but the Chicago Project, which served only women), citizenship, residence and availability after confinement. These limitations were imposed upon the projects in the interest of uniformity and out of the necessity to regulate elements of time and geographical spread. The screening process produced an FOR population of 2,654 clients. Since each counselor found an average of 8 eligible clients per month, ample indication was afforded the proposition that localities similar to those of the FOR projects could support the allocation of one or more full-time counselors. Lists of potential clients, indicating eligible cases, were periodically submitted to the national research staff in Seattle. Certain judgmental categories were applied to all eligible cases. Prior to initial interview and based upon paper review alone, the VR counselors placed each of the eligible clients in one of the following judgmental categories: likely to benefit from VR services, indeterminate as to likelihood for benefitting, or not likely to benefit. At the same time, working independently of the counselors, chief correctional officers placed eligible clients in one of the following categories: likely to succeed under free world correctional supervision, indeterminate as to success, or not likely to succeed.

The Seattle staff then divided the total eligible population into an experimental group (intensive service clients) and two control groups. A system of random selection was employed to insure that a comparable number of cases in

[54] It should be remembered that the needs of control cases were not assessed; only those of the intensive service clients were investigated.

each judgmental category was assigned to the experimental and control groups. Since random selection ignored the question of any client's feasible prognosis for successful rehabilitation, this represented another departure from traditional VR selection procedures. In describing judgmental values, it was pointed out that VR counselors initially made their decisions based primarily on factors that indicated vocational potential, while correctional officers favored social indications of potential community adjustment. Counselors' judgment changed over time, becoming decidedly less optimistic.

The description of the total FOR population indicated that most federal offenders were convicted of crimes against property rather than persons. However, considerable variation was found in the population of the different projects in terms of legal status, criminal record and social background.

Finally, client needs were described, in general, and then project by project. Since casework was not attempted in control cases, only the needs of intensive service clients were examined. Although these clients revealed needs for traditional VR service, most of their problems centered around attitudinal deviations. Since needs fell into such broad categories and it was difficult to collect quantifiable data in this area, this section, therefore was based upon subjective counselor assessment.

Any assessment of needs is of little value to anyone except the assessor, whether counselor or client, or both, unless some plan of action can be devised to meet them. The following chapter will describe treatment, or the nature and type of services provided by the FOR program, and it will seek to compare these services with those of the regular VR program, with an added note about the nature of counseling in correctional rehabilitation.

CHAPTER IV THE NOT-SO-NEW TESTAMENT

Of the 623 assigned intensive service clients, 113 did not receive any services, 55 of them because they could not be contacted and 58 because they mutually agreed with their counselors that services were not needed.

Only 50 per cent of the intensive caseload received purchased diagnostics. While the diagnostic emphasis in regular VR programs is focused upon determining eligibility for services, diagnostics were obtained in the FOR Program primarily for utilization in plan development. The average expenditure for diagnostics was $87 per case. Of the 510 clients that entered active service, 25 per cent received other purchased services without formal diagnostics.

Of the 190 clients who received counseling and guidance only, none were afforded counseling in excess of 31 hours; 109 received 5 hours or less.

One-half of the clients received purchased services other than diagnostics. Medical services were provided to only a few FOR clients, and these were rarely of a restorative nature; instead they usually constituted either treatment for minor intercurrent illness or adjustment therapy.

Of the 510 clients who entered active service, 44 per cent received training and/or tools. These services were not essentially designed to reduce, or cancel, vocational handicaps but rather were directed toward the achievement of employment sufficiently attractive to induce stability and forestall reversion to criminal activity. Maintenance was provided extensively and at considerable expense, both as a form of basic support and to finance any unusual service not categorized elsewhere.

About one-fourth of the clients received "intensive" services, defined either by high expenditures or multiplicity of service combinations. Since caseloads were limited to 50 intensive clients at any one time, more counseling per se was provided than is customary in regular VR programs, averaging about 19 hours per client. Excluding time spent in trying to contact clients or time spent in dormant follow-up after successful employment adjustment, length of case service averaged 19 months per client.

By the time field operations were terminated, the FOR counselors had come to look upon themselves, not as purchase agents or coordinators of service, but as providers of service themselves; in short, counseling, per se, achieved a significance it had not previously enjoyed.

CHAPTER IV THE NOT-SO-NEW TESTAMENT

INTRODUCTION

In effect, the FOR program was mandated to test the following basic proposition: "Are intensive vocational rehabilitation services effective in re-establishing the federal offender in a productive and law-abiding role in society?" The federal offender, as he appeared in the FOR population, and the method of his selection for that population, has been described in some detail.[55] Whether or not he, in fact, received "intensive" services deserves equally close scrutiny. As the description of projects in operation would indicate, there is reason to doubt that he did, except in the sense that each caseload was limited to fifty clients at any given time, and the counselors were thereby theoretically afforded ample time for intense counseling.

Although striking the word "intensive" from the proposition would change the dimensions of the study and leave some FOR project directors and counselors at a loss to explain all the sound and fury in their efforts to understand and provide intensive, or innovative, services, the absence of the word "intensive" might mean less to others, for example, correctional personnel.

The federal correctional agencies entered into this experimental partnership with the expectation of something less than intensive service. All they were really asking for their constituents was regular VR purchased services: diagnostics; surgery and other medical treatment, including psychotherapy; hospitalization and convalescent care; training and training materials; maintenance and transportation; tools, equipment and licenses.[56] To some extent, then, it would be irrelevant to find that the services actually received by FOR clients were not "intensive" but highly similar to those found in regular VR programs.

This chapter is largely directed toward these two questions: did FOR clients receive regular VR purchased services and/or did they receive "intensive" services?

As we have noted before, a uniform abstract definition of "intensive" services is hard to come by. Perhaps it is expressed as well as it can be in the following quotation drawn from a report submitted by Walter Rest, Chicago Project Observer: "Innovation is: 1) those things that could not be done for whatever the reason if the client were receiving current services; and 2) an imaginative service that technically could be done with the clients receiving current services but probably would not be done because such services require inordinant amounts of time and could not be managed by a counselor carrying the large caseloads usual in most departments." It is very difficult to translate that definition into reportable and measurable data about individual client services. Consequently, rather than describing "intensive" services, we will initially take a clue from the abstract definition and allow the precise denotation of "intensive" services to emerge in contrast to regular services.

Designed to assist handicapped persons to enter, or re-enter, gainful employment, regular VR services in 1965 (and with slight modification since) may be described as a series of stages through which any given client passes, hopefully, on his way to the magic moment of "rehabilitation." In casework practice these stages are afforded numerical status designations and are recorded in a continuum on large pages called "flow sheets." Although paper diagrams lend an imaginary flavor to this process, in actuality these stages are quite real. At any point in the whole process, a client may voluntarily drop out, be terminated for one of several carefully considered reasons, or proceed on to the next step.

Briefly, these stages (statuses) and their effects on client progress or termination are as follows: 1) the client is referred, either by himself or by some other individual or by an agency. 2) He is then evaluated for acceptance. To be accepted for services an applicant must have a physical or mental disability, established by a medical or psychological evaluation. This disability must be serious enough to constitute a vocational handicap. If it is so determined, eligibility is established. At the same time, the applicant's disability, or collection of several disabling conditions, must not be so severe as to preclude reasonable prognosis for eventually entering employment after receipt of services, i.e., the client must also be feasible. If these conditions prevail, the client is placed in "active" status. But before achieving that status, a fairly large number of referred cases are closed without further action, either because eligibility or feasibility were not declared or because applicants failed, or refused, to keep interviews or diagnostic appointments for evaluations. 3) At the same time eligibility and feasibility are being determined, most counselors also prepare for the next step, plan development. Once an active client's established handicap has been weighed against his vocational potential or aptitude, the counselor, with the client's concurrence, determines what service should be provided in order to assist the client toward his selected goal and gainful employment. Some clients and counselors never agree on a plan and the client drops out here. 4) Immediately following the development of a plan, the counselor writes down the nature of the service, or services, indicates how much it would cost and from whom it would be purchased, e.g., a physician. This entry becomes, in effect, the initial "rehabilitation plan," or an outline for treatment. Although these services are usually purchased by VR from specialized agencies or individuals, called "vendors," the plan need not include purchased services. A plan for vocational counseling and guidance only, at no outside cost to VR, is acceptable if job placement is included as a significant service. 5) Implementation of the plan, constitutes the fifth stage, during which, singularly or in sequence, any of the following general services may be provided: a) surgery and treatment, b) prosthetic appliances, c) hospitalization and convalescent care, d) training and training materials, e) maintenance and transportation, f) tools, equipment and licenses. Up until this point these services can only be provided on a limited basis, if at all. For example, a client being evaluated in most states cannot be provided maintenance, although regular VR clients are almost all unemployed at this stage.

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[55] See Chapter 3.

[56] See Chapter 1.

Once a plan is put into action, a client must adhere to it since he ostensibly participated in its formulation; if he does not, he will be dropped or his case will be placed in "interrupted" status. If, after a period of time, no progress becomes evident, or a client disappears, or something unforeseen of major consequence intervenes in the whole process, a case will be closed as "not rehabilitated." On the other hand, if the client proceeds along the track of his rehabilitation plan, rolling past the flag points of status change, and then goes to work, his case can be successfully closed after a period of 30 days on the job, in which case he is awarded the designation, "rehabilitated," a word which may or may not mean anything to him.

Regular services, then, fall into three major categories: 1) diagnostic services; 2) counseling, guidance and placement at no cost to VR; and 3) purchased services. Diagnostics, either by standardized testing or by counselor judgment, are performed during the evaluative period in order to determine eligibility, feasibility and vocational objective. Diagnostic services in varying degrees must be completed before a full program of purchased services can be authorized.

A plan for services may include counseling, guidance and placement at no cost to VR, with or without the addition of purchased services, although counseling and guidance rarely occur alone. Consequently, most rehabilitation plans place the major treatment burden upon purchased services.

Again, this description is basically of the casework process that generally pertained to VR across the country in 1965 and does not include a few latter day modifications. For example, there is some evidence now of slightly reduced caseloads. Status categories employing extended periods of evaluation have been generally inaugurated in accordance with federal statute, and more states provide maintenance during the diagnostic stage.

But in general, now as then, most regular rehabilitation plans are relatively uncomplicated affairs, and expenditures per case are not normally high. In 1965, the mean expenditure across the regular programs of the seven states which participated in the FOR Program was $459 for rehabilitated cases, and although an increase in this figure no doubt prevails today, we have little reason to believe that it is much higher.[57] With reference to counseling and guidance, at present most counselors are still burdened with caseloads heavy enough to preclude almost all but selective counseling.

Aside from the reduction in caseload size, a provision that was built into the FOR design for the purpose of encouraging intensive counseling, a list of FOR services might be read as simply more of the same arsenal issued to the regular VR program. Partly this is so because in the FOR analysis services were coded by traditional categories. Partly it is true because FOR services were simply that: more of the same. On the other hand, some rather startling differences did occur along with the obvious similarities.

By design, the FOR program suspended established casework process. Most projects immediately took advantage of this and did not bracket services in accordance with the status system even though they were compelled to report to their state agencies in status terms in order to accommodate those flow sheets. Under these emancipating circumstances, some projects automatically placed experimental clients in the plan development stage. Others automatically placed them in active status, even before conducting initial interviews.

But there were a few exceptions to this. For example, the Illinois projects were still required to secure general medical examinations before client acceptance; consequently, those clients who failed to undergo examination rarely received other services. Those few projects who persisted in the status system, requiring client action step by step across the barriers of status change, found themselves disadvantaged; they were unable to provide the purchased services available in other FOR units. However, they still provided counseling and guidance to whatever extent possible so long as it was integral to the rehabilitation plans they developed.

Despite these few exceptions, though, the suspension of the status system resulted in the provision of all services during all stages of the rehabilitation process.

Not only did FOR treatment differ from regular VR service in its disregard for the status system, but there were also differences in the use of purchased services. These differences are noted statistically in the average costs of the services provided and in the proportion of the clientele who received them. Most significantly, there were differences in the actual kinds of services purchased.

Again, counseling alone and with purchased service merits a closer look; for, as the fifty client caseload limit would imply, the FOR counselor had more time for counseling activities than did his regular program counterpart; in

[57] These figures and those following, pertinent to the regular VR program were obtained from the cumulative R300 report for Fiscal Year 1965. The R300, a standard form for case processing, is used in VR agencies across the country; from these individual case reports are prepared cumulative R300's which are forwarded regularly to the federal office. FOR is most appreciative of SRS's willingness to provide us with copies for Fiscal Year 65.

addition, FOR deviated extravagantly from the traditional emphasis found in VR counseling.

The most elusive difference between FOR treatment and regular VR service has already been chronicled: the counselor's radically altered perception of his own job. Most FOR counselors began to see employment as a necessary, but far from comprehensive rehabilitation goal. This insight profoundly affected the treatment they eventually came to provide and in a sense it distinguished the FOR counselor from most of his counterparts in the regular VR program.

In summary, four differences between FOR and regular VR treatment are apparent. In the FOR Program, normal stages of case processing were not employed and this produced differences in the method of entering clients into service and also for the availability of services. New content was introduced to purchased services, which were extended in differing frequency with changes in average cost. The fifty caseload limit allowed for more comprehensive client-counselor interaction. The FOR counselor dealt with problems that were not strictly vocational in nature.

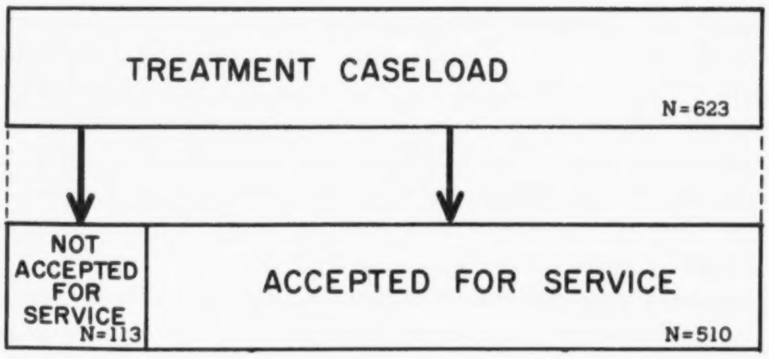
These differences will be expanded upon by describing first the flow of FOR cases through the preliminary VR statuses which lead to plan development. The description will cover that form of purchased service known as diagnostics. Secondly, those clients who were accepted for service but who received no purchased service beyond diagnostics, i.e., whose plans were for counseling and guidance only, will be discussed. Only at that juncture will we have reached a discussion of the purchased services, other than diagnostics, in which corrections originally expressed an interest. Thirdly, the first question asked, whether FOR clients received regular VR purchased service, will be answered. The traditional categories of purchased service will be described, including how FOR services differed from regular VR services in terms of content, the proportion of clients who received either kind, and the average cost of service. Fourth, the question whether intensive services were provided will be raised.

In sub-dividing the question on the provision of intensive services, the following will be taken into account: were purchased services intensive if measured by dollar expenditures? Were they intensive if measured by the multiplicity of services provided? Was service intensive if measured by amounts of counseling hours afforded, or, was the potential of extensive counseling made possible by reduced caseloads in truth realized? Finally, was service intensive if counselors came to regard their basic role from a different viewpoint?

ACCEPTANCE FOR *FOR* SERVICES

There were 623 potential FOR clients, 113 of whom were essentially no different from control cases.[58] They received no VR services and most were not even approached. Although further information on these particular clients can be found later in the report, they deserve some mention here. These 113 were never afforded the opportunity to receive VR services through no fault of the counselors. In 55 cases, the counselor could not effect contact and consequently was unable to explain available services. In 58 cases, the potential clients and their counselors agreed that there was no need for VR services. None of these potential clients probably would have made the step from referral to first interview under the regular VR system. But since some of those with no need had their lack of need established through purchased diagnostics, it seems appropriate to introduce the contrast between diagnostics for regular VR and FOR as though all FOR clients at least had diagnostics to determine their eligibility.

FIGURE IV.1.—THE FLOW OF *FOR* CLIENTS THROUGH THE TREATMENT PROCESS: ACCEPTANCE FOR SERVICE



DIAGNOSTICS

In the regular VR program, we have available no specific data, only estimates based on casework process and even these vary from state to state. Diagnostics are generally used in two ways: 1) for determining eligibility; and 2) for use in plan development. There are two kinds of diagnostics which can be employed for either of the two reasons: 1) medical and/or psychological diagnostics; and 2) vocational evaluations.

Purchased medical and/or psychological diagnostics on referred clients are mandatory in determining eligibility and feasibility. Reports of these examinations are used invariably to establish the presence of a physical or mental disability, or a combination of disabilities. They are also reviewed to determine if a disabling condition is serious enough to constitute a vocational handicap, or if it is too severe to preclude a reasonable prognosis for the client's eventually entering gainful employment. If the client is accepted for service, this type of diagnostics may or may not be put to further use. If the disability is stabilized and cannot be alleviated by medical treatment, vocational evaluation alone, either by standardized testing or counselor assessment, must be used to formulate the rehabilitation plan. For example, loss of sight and mental retardation do not indicate restorative medical treatment. On the other hand, if the disabling condition can be corrected by physical or mental restoration, then medical diagnostics naturally lead into the development of a rehabilitation plan.

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[58] There were originally 653 intensive cases, however thirty were excluded from the final analysis. Some of these (16) were those who had died during the experiment. In a few cases a Plan B potential client was reincarcerated long enough to preclude our receiving at least 9 months of performance measurement between the time he was assigned and the time the counselor could work with him. In addition, some few Plan C clients were not released from prison in time for us to receive at least 9 months of performance measurement. These same reasons resulted in the exclusion of 29 controls.

All diagnostics begin with a general medical examination, which presumably will support an alleged disability and simultaneously recommend further evaluation by a specialist in the pertinent medical or psychological field. Specialists' reports must be obtained before eligibility can be declared.

It is entirely possible, of course, for a general medical to rule out the possibility of a disabling condition in which case a client is rejected for service and his case is closed in referred status.

Similar results can be obtained from specialist examinations, but are rarely the case since general practioners ordinarily do not recommend specialist examinations unless sufficient evidence of disability is present.

On the other hand, a few referred clients are not even afforded general medicals, but this denial largely depends upon the pre-examination screening practice of any given state VR agency. In 1965, it was still possible to classify clients as ineligible or non-feasible on the basis of paper review. Even today, it is permissible, and advisedly so, to eliminate clients who allege no more than a general condition that scarcely denotes a vocational handicap.

Other clients, although accepted in active status, are afforded diagnostics and no further purchased services. This can occur when counseling, guidance and placement plans are written, or when additional purchased services, such as medical attention and training, are not needed.

In most cases, referred clients do at least receive general medicals, and the majority of these proceed into specialist evaluations. Yet the average cost of both combined is not high. However, this does not rule out the small number of exceptions who require an extensive amount of diagnostics, vocational evaluation.

Once a client is accepted for service, his rehabilitation plan must indicate a vocational objective; sometimes easy to determine, and at other times quite difficult. For example, a man who is already employed but who has a disabling hernia condition will very likely return to the same job after surgery and convalescence; obviously vocational diagnostics would be superfluous under that circumstance. Conversely, a man engaged in heavy construction work who loses a limb must be evaluated to determine his aptitudes and desires for an entirely new vocation. Vocational evaluation in such cases cannot be taken lightly. When one presumes to influence another's choice of occupation, guidance should be founded upon the most thorough evaluative findings available.

Extended vocational evaluation can occupy roughly one of two periods of time, six or eighteen months, depending on the severity of the disability involved and the difficulty in determining a vocational objective. In the relatively small proportion of cases who are awarded these extended periods in the third status, or in active status prior to plan development, the average cost of diagnostics is high since most VR agencies do not operate their own diagnostic centers and must pay other organizations for comprehensive evaluations. Almost all clients who adhere to extended evaluative procedures, eventually enter active status, i.e., plan implementation, usually involving other purchased services.

It might also be noted that maintenance (transportation, lunch money and incidentals) can be afforded during extended evaluation, whereas it is not usually given to other referred clients.

In summary, under regular VR programs, a high proportion of referred clients receive diagnostics, but at low cost. All clients (100 per cent) who enter active status have previously been afforded diagnostics. A few clients are given diagnostics, but no further service other than counseling, guidance and placement. Another small proportion, whose vocational objectives are not easily determined, receive extensive evaluation services at high cost. Almost all of this group enter active status and the greater number of them receive treatment in the nature of purchased services beyond diagnostics.

The FOR Program was different in many respects. Since most projects did not need to establish eligibility, and since all intensive service clients were considered feasible until proven otherwise, diagnostics were provided to a lesser extent in the FOR experiment than under the regular VR program. With the exception of the two Illinois projects, where general medical examinations were required, diagnostics for the explicit purpose of establishing eligibility were ignored, although they were preferred as a matter of course in Pittsburgh, San Antonio and Tampa. In all but these few projects, clients were automatically placed in either accepted or plan development status upon assignment to the intensive group prior to diagnostics. Even a few of the above named followed that procedure, but then routinely went ahead with general medicals.

The primary emphasis in the FOR Program, however, seemed to be on diagnostics for plan development, not for establishing eligibility. This was apparently the only usage of diagnostics in the two Atlanta projects, the two Denver projects and the two Seattle projects.

In fact, across all projects only half of the intensives received diagnostics, and one-fourth of those who received other purchased services managed to do so without any diagnostics at all (both patterns being theoretically impossible in regular VR programs).[59]

The mean expenditures for diagnostics across projects was $87, which was still probably higher than in regular programs, the implication being that plan development diagnostics (particularly extended evaluations) cost more than those employed solely for determining eligibility. Part of the extreme variation by project can be explained by the fact that diagnostics were routinely required in some projects and not in others. Another explanation is found in the extremely high amounts expended on a few selected clients, particularly in Tampa and Atlanta C, two units who occasionally exceeded the $1,000 mark on individual cases.

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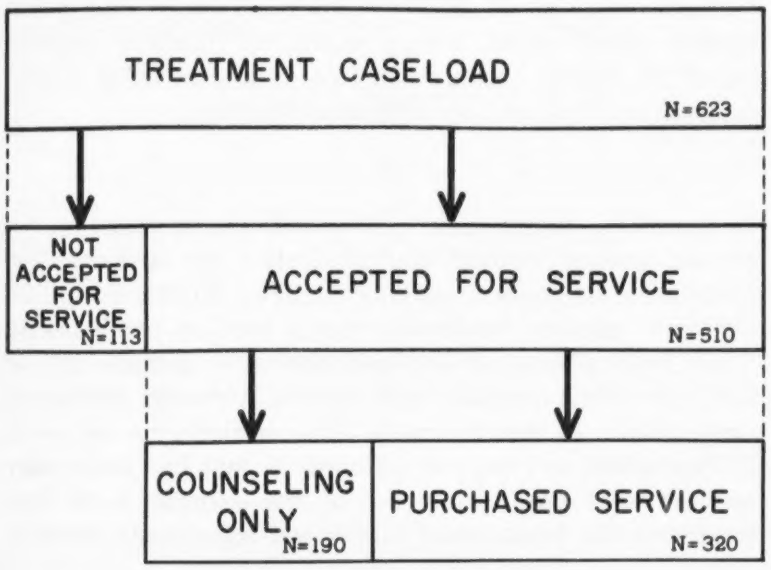
[59] A qualification should be added here that some projects, especially the Plan C's, had access to institution reports which would amount to eligibility diagnostic information. Consequently, the percentage receiving purchased service without diagnostics in those projects could be higher than it would have been if those reports had not been available at no cost.

COUNSELING AND GUIDANCE ONLY PLANS

Of the 623 assigned intensive clients, 510 were entered into active status with or without diagnostics.

As for the plans that were developed, some did not involve further purchased service. One hundred and ninety clients received counseling and guidance only. In many of these cases, the client could not be motivated to accept further service. In some, counseling and guidance was the only service needed. These two possibilities are indistinguishable except in the cases for which counseling only resulted in rehabilitation and hence was considered sufficient service. What we do know is that 109 of these clients got 5 hours or less of counseling and/or diagnostic services and 12 of these were rehabilitated. Some of these 12 rehabilitated clients would have been deferred during referral under the regular program since they had questionable needs for service which did not develop quite as the counselor had anticipated. For example, in one case an attorney client faced possible disbarment, and had this happened, he would have been faced with the prospect of seeking a new vocation. However, disbarment did not take place and he was closed as rehabilitated—with counseling and guidance only. We might add here that both the counselor and the attorney had previously agreed that the back-up implied by counseling and guidance was needed and that if disbarment did take place, vocational assistance would have been in order as well.

FIGURE IV.2.—THE FLOW OF *FOR* CLIENTS THROUGH THE TREATMENT PROCESS: SERVICE RECEIVED



Another group of 81 cases also received counseling and guidance only but in excess of 5 hours; in some cases up to 31 hours with an average of 13 hours.

Noting the number of rehabilitations from this group, it is even more apparent that counseling was sufficient service for some of these men. In regular VR, such a plan for counseling would also include job placement services. A quick review of these case histories would indicate that job placement was not always provided to the FOR clients who received counseling only. An unanswered question here is: could these individuals just as well have received counseling and guidance through the correctional system? Certainly corrections was not seeking from VR more of the same services which they could already provide. Yet it is possible that the counseling represented here was qualitatively different from correctional counseling, different even from the counseling provided by the prison system's employment specialists. This gray area of counseling differences, i.e., between counseling provided by correctional personnel and that by VR staff members, should receive more careful study. Even without qualitative differences, agency affiliation of the counselor alone may have unanticipated effects.

RECEIPT OF REGULAR PURCHASED SERVICE DURING PLAN IMPLEMENTATION

Actually corrections had hoped their clients would receive VR purchased services. Under the usual VR procedure, such services would really come into play as a part of the treatment plan developed by the counselor and client. But 113 potential FOR clients were never really a part of FOR treatment or to use VR parlance, never accepted for service, and 190 were given counseling and guidance without purchased services beyond diagnostics. This gives a total of 303 FOR clients who never received the desired purchased services and 320 who did. In short, almost half of the potential FOR clientele were not engaged in the treatment corrections desired. Obviously, this fact has an effect when the impact of FOR treatment on offender performance is assessed. Projects varied considerably in the proportion of persons receiving a purchased service. Denver A, San Antonio and all the C projects had over 60 per cent with highs of 79 per cent in Atlanta C and 89 per cent in Seattle C. At the other end Atlanta A, Chicago, Tampa and Springfield all had less than 40 per cent of their clientele receiving a purchased service, with lows of 28 per cent in Chicago and 29 per cent in Tampa.

For the 320 clients who participated in regular VR treatment, i.e., who got purchased services, this service was not as it would have been under the regular program. VR statuses had been suspended but that was not all. Even what appeared to be regular purchased service was different in content, frequency of use and cost.

For research purposes, the seven traditional categories of purchased service beyond diagnostics were combined into three: medical, training/tools, maintenance. Surgery and treatment, hospitalization and the provision of prosthetic appliances were all grouped under medical services. Training and tools fell together. Maintenance and "other services", other services being things like legal aid uncategorizable elsewhere, became partners.

PROVISION OF MEDICAL SERVICES

Although VR was originally conceived to assist the physically handicapped, particularly the victims of industrial accidents, its early treatment strategy involved vocational training and job placement around a disability without any effort to alleviate the handicap itself. Medical restoration services were added later, but then strangely enough, graduated in importance to the point that primary emphasis is placed upon them in some states. Perhaps this development took place because the medical model for treatment was an attractive one for an uncertain new professional service group to follow.[60] Speculation aside, regular VR does first attempt to ameliorate the client's physical or mental handicaps before proceeding to vocational objectives. These restorative services may involve the purchase of prosthetic appliances, such as artificial legs or glasses; the use of other professionals and/or hospitalization for treatment such as cardiac surgery, psychiatric care and physical therapy for the polio victim.

In 1965, the seven states which became engaged in FOR purchased the services of medical professionals such as surgeons for about 33 per cent of all their rehabilitated clients. A few more than 19 per cent of their rehabilitants got prosthetic appliances and a similar number were hospitalized in the process of treatment. Expenditures for medical treatment averaged $175 across these seven states, $173 for prosthetics and $301 for hospitalization.

In FOR medical services were no longer exclusively of the restorative type. Some were for physical or psychiatric restoration, but most constituted treatment for intercurrent illness (in some cases, not only of the client, but also of his family), or what might be called adjustment therapy.

Medical services of a physical nature were provided to very few FOR clients, a significant departure from the VR norm. In fact, only one-fourth of the project clients who were provided service received any kind of medical assistance. The few cases of extensive physical or psychiatric restoration (in the traditional sense) which occurred were represented by more extreme expenditures. Throughout the program, 10 clients received medical services of at least $1,000, and 17 clients accumulated between $500 and $1,000 in medical bills. An even stronger indication of the atypical and non-restorative nature of the FOR medical services was found in the fact that only 26 out of the total caseload required hospitalization: either for treatment of physical problems, such as an ulcerated leg; for physical and psychiatric problems, such as alcoholism; or for psychiatric problems, such as actual psychosis. These hospital stays were, on the average, relatively brief since the median cost was from $249-$299. As for prostheses, more glasses and teeth than legs were purchased by far. Protheses were provided to 43 people, at a median cost of less than $50.

In addition to the provision of eye glasses and dental care, a fair amount of the small individual expenditures must have represented service for intercurrent illness. This term denotes the kind of physical problems which arose during the rehabilitation process and were essentially temporary in nature, such as common colds and dental emergencies.

In attempting to analyze adjustment therapy, the third type of medical service commonly provided, some problems were encountered. In Seattle A, adjustment therapy was conducted by the counselor and the cost was not reflected in medical services, but in the number of counseling hours. In San Antonio, adjustment therapy was placed under training expenses since it primarily involved work adjustment. Consequently, the analysis of medical expenditures did not reflect all of the adjustment therapy provided. It was accurately reflected in the two Atlanta Projects, in Denver and in Pittsburgh, where such treatment was provided by psychiatrists and, therefore, coded under medical services. No actual group psychotherapy was provided in Chicago, although Chicago tried to start a group with very limited success, or in Seattle C, Springfield or Tampa, although individual counseling did, of course, take place.

A quick case by case review would indicate that the majority of the 143 clients receiving medical services had inexpensive intercurrent illness treatment and the rest more expensive, if purchased, adjustment therapy.

Projects varied, primarily, in the proportion of clients who were provided medical services. Most projects, with the exception of Atlanta A and C and Pittsburgh, and Denver C, furnished medical assistance less frequently than the other two forms of treatment. In Atlanta A and C and Denver C medical services were second in frequency of provision, while in Pittsburgh medical services were first. As it was, the proportion of clients who received medical services ranged from a low of 15 per cent in Tampa and Springfield to a high of 45 per cent in the Denver Projects. (The latter case reflects the use of group therapy.)

The mean expenditure for medical service, regardless of type, was $355 per case, about average by ordinary VR standards. Expenditures for medical services ranged widely, but most costs were low. One-fourth were less than $500 each and 40 per cent were less than $100, while only 1 out of 8 clients who were furnished with medical assistance received amounts of $600 or more. There is also some project variation in the amounts of medical monies expended. Upper limits range from a low of $299 in San Antonio to a high of over $5,000 in Atlanta C.

In summary, then, a fourth of all 510 clients accepted for service received medical services. Only 5 per cent required hospitalization, only 8 per cent required prostheses and 24 per cent required treatment from a medical professional. These medical services were provided at an average cost of $355 per client receiving such service. Although the cost is fairly similar to that in regular VR, certainly, the nature of FOR medical services was different in that few restorative services were given and most of the expense went into treatment for intercurrent illness and adjustment therapy.

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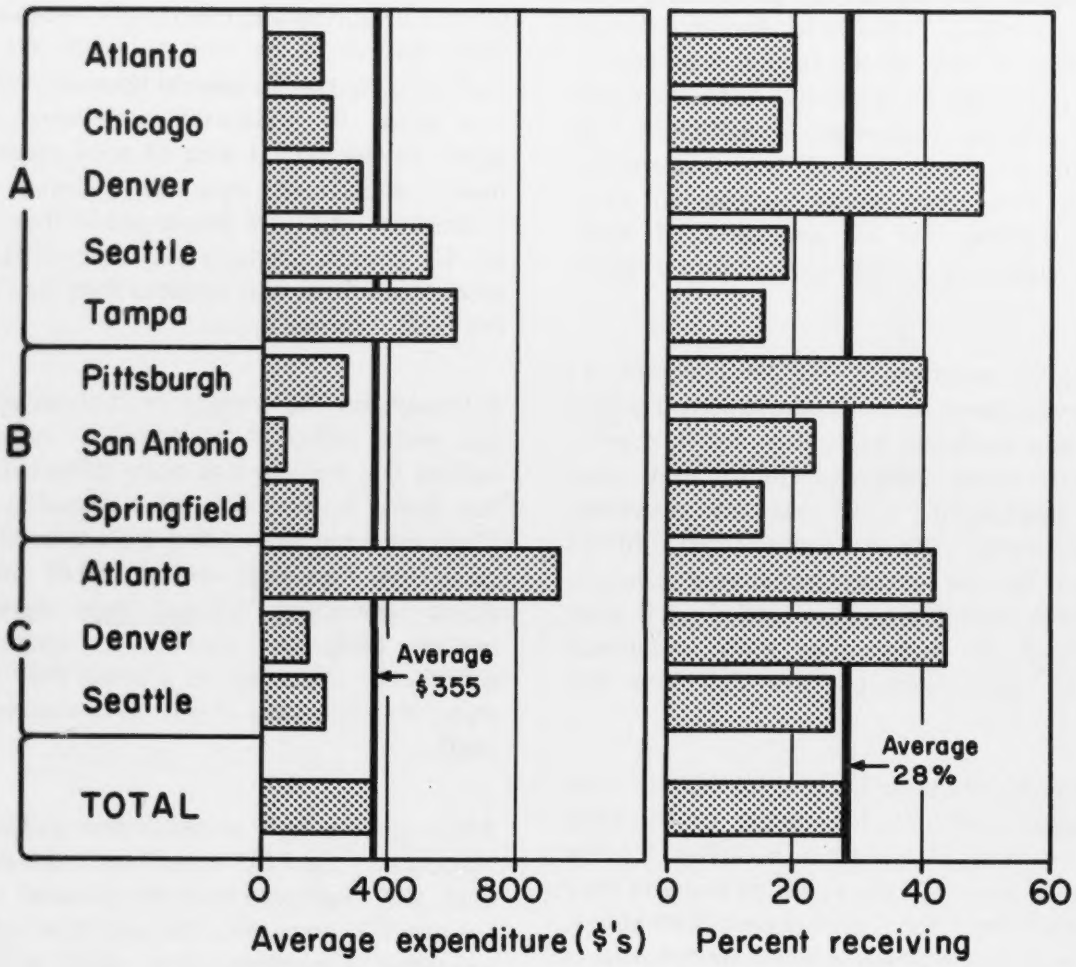
[60] Hints of a fresh critique of this medical model are now found on several fronts, in the interest in treating the family as well as the client, in arguments within FOR between advocates of the medical model and the sociological model.

FIGURE IV.3.–AVERAGE COST AND PROPORTION OF CLIENTS RECEIVING MEDICAL SERVICES (Project By Project Comparison)



Yet the problem of deciphering the type of medical services provided under the FOR Program was multifold. FOR counselors primarily coded disabilities as either character disorder or simply "public offender," so the sort of information on physical and mental handicaps usually found in VR caseloads was not available. For example, although the need for adjustment therapy was present, this service was often not reflected as a medical expense.

Strictly from a subjective point of view, most of the counselors would agree that few of their clients were afflicted with the usual severe physical or mental handicaps found in regular VR clientele. The few amputees, psychotics and cardiac problems were far from the rule. In fact, most FOR clients were in reasonably good health. The federal prison system provides adequate medical care and even the probationers were generally in pretty good shape. Most medical problems were essentially minor; the FOR clients had the same run of bad teeth and allergies, etc., that might be expected in a fairly normal population. Not only were the FOR clientele in reasonably good health, physically and mentally (so far as psychosis is concerned), but the exceptions were extremely reluctant to accept medical services. For example, the Chicago Project seemed to have had more than its share of physical problems. This project, it will be remembered, also required a general medical examination before clients could proceed toward additional services. The medical problems which these clients did have were seldom resolved. It was difficult to get them to follow through even on dental appointments. In short, then, two factors limited the amount of medical services provided under FOR: one was the reasonably good health of the FOR clients and the other was their reluctance to seek the services of a physician.

As a result, the medical services provided offenders under this program were not so much restorative as they were supportive. Nor were medical services always directed toward the achievement of vocational placement, but simply toward a facet of the client's life which jeopardized his community stability.

PROVISION OF TRAINING/TOOLS

Vocational training and tools have long been a part of regular VR service. Before medical restoration could be furnished, training was programmed around disabilities in an effort to cancel vocational handicaps without alleviating the disabling conditions themselves. To some extent an identical approach is still utilized since a good many disabilities are stabilized and cannot be eliminated. With this implied order of things, vocational training should follow medical services, if any, in the regular program. In fact, not all regular clients get both medical restoration and training. For some, medical restoration is sufficient. For others, training still is done around the uncorrected disability. In 1965, the seven states sponsoring FOR projects provided training to 25 per cent of their rehabilitated clients, reporting a mean expenditure of $537 across the states.

Just as in the regular program, the FOR Program, in general, secured pre-vocational or work adjustment training, vocational training and academic instruction for its clients. In conjunction with these programs, items that were grouped under the heading of "tools" were also provided. Applied to academic courses, "tools" actually meant books and supplies. Even in the purely vocational courses, supplies, though really not tools, were coded as if they were. When provided in conjunction with vocational training, "tools" for permanent use also fell into this category.

Aside from the difficulty of determining what "tools" were actually tools, it became virtually impossible, on the basis of data coded from the information supplied by the projects, to uniformly sort out the types of training they sponsored into one of the three varieties described above. One reason for this was that training was not always what it sounded like. For example, the San Antonio Project sent a few of its clients to something called Federated Schools, a two-room building in which upholstery and other trades were taught. But the underlying purpose in fostering this training was not to make clients into upholsterers; it was work adjustment training. In other words, the instructors at this school were respected for their ability to teach good work habits. So the process, in effect, might have been called work therapy. San Antonio also lumped work adjustment into the training category, whereas, in reality, what they were paying for was group psychotherapy. As a matter of fact, the sessions were conducted by a clinical psychologist, and the "students" were clients and members of their families who gathered together regularly to discuss problems of adjustment, not only on the job, but in everyday life.

In the Denver A Project, we were fortunately able to pinpoint the specific training area in 28 of the 33 cases which involved training. Almost half of these clients were instructed in skilled blue-collar areas becoming truck drivers, auto mechanics, welders. Ten clients received academic training, most of which was at a pre-college level, but there were four people who received extensive general education and who were still getting it at the time the FOR Program terminated. The rest of the training courses were essentially programmed toward skilled white-collar or professional jobs. Of the 33 clients for whom training rehabilitation plans were written, 9 began their courses, but then dropped out, 16 went the whole route, and, so far as we can tell, the remaining 8 clients did not even make it to the schoolhouse door. Of the 16 people who held onto their determinations and actually finished their courses, 11 eventually became employed in their specific fields of study.

Of the 20 Springfield clients who received training, seven of them did so at no cost to FOR. Of the 20, five took academic courses in general education at a pre-college level. The other 15 underwent vocational training, primarily, again, in the skilled area of auto mechanics, welding and heavy equipment operation. Seven people completed instruction and were employed in their new fields. A total of 10 clients, including 3 drop-outs, were working in accordance with the subjects they had studied at the time the FOR Program ended.

Although on the surface of it these vocational courses do not seem unlike those found in regular VR, the intent behind the training was quite different. These clients were not being trained around a disability, corrected or not. They were not even being trained in all cases to eliminate a vocational handicap, almost all of them could get a job doing something. Instead they were receiving training and/or tools so that their employment would be sufficiently attractive to prevent their return to a disabled state, if criminality might be considered a disability unto itself.

Although the lack of restorative medical services provided throughout the FOR experiment seemed to contrast greatly with the preponderance of physical restoration found in regular VR programs, the provision of training and tools, exceeded in numbers, what might be expected in on-going VR programs, with one-half of the rehabilitants receiving this service compared to the one-quarter noted above in regular programs. Of the 510 intensive clients who were actually accepted for service, 181 or 36% received training and 222 or 44 per cent received training and/or tools. This is more than those who received medical services, less than those who received maintenance.

In reference to project variation, some units duplicated the overall trend by placing training/tools intermediately in frequency of purchased services. The two Atlanta Projects are examples of the major exceptions. In Atlanta A, training/tools (to mean primarily tools alone) represented by far the largest segment of services provided. Chicago, Tampa and San Antonio followed that pattern also. In Atlanta C, on the other hand, training and/or tools were provided less often than any other type of service (although, here again, the training/tools designation is primarily in reference to tools alone). Denver C was like Atlanta C. Within projects, the proportion of clients who received training/tools fluctuated widely around the 44 per cent rate attributed to the overall program. Chicago exhibited the lowest at 28 per cent, which is only logical given two considerations: its clientele were all female, and Illinois required the completion of general medical examinations before further services could be purchased. Nearly two-thirds of the Seattle C clients received training/tools.

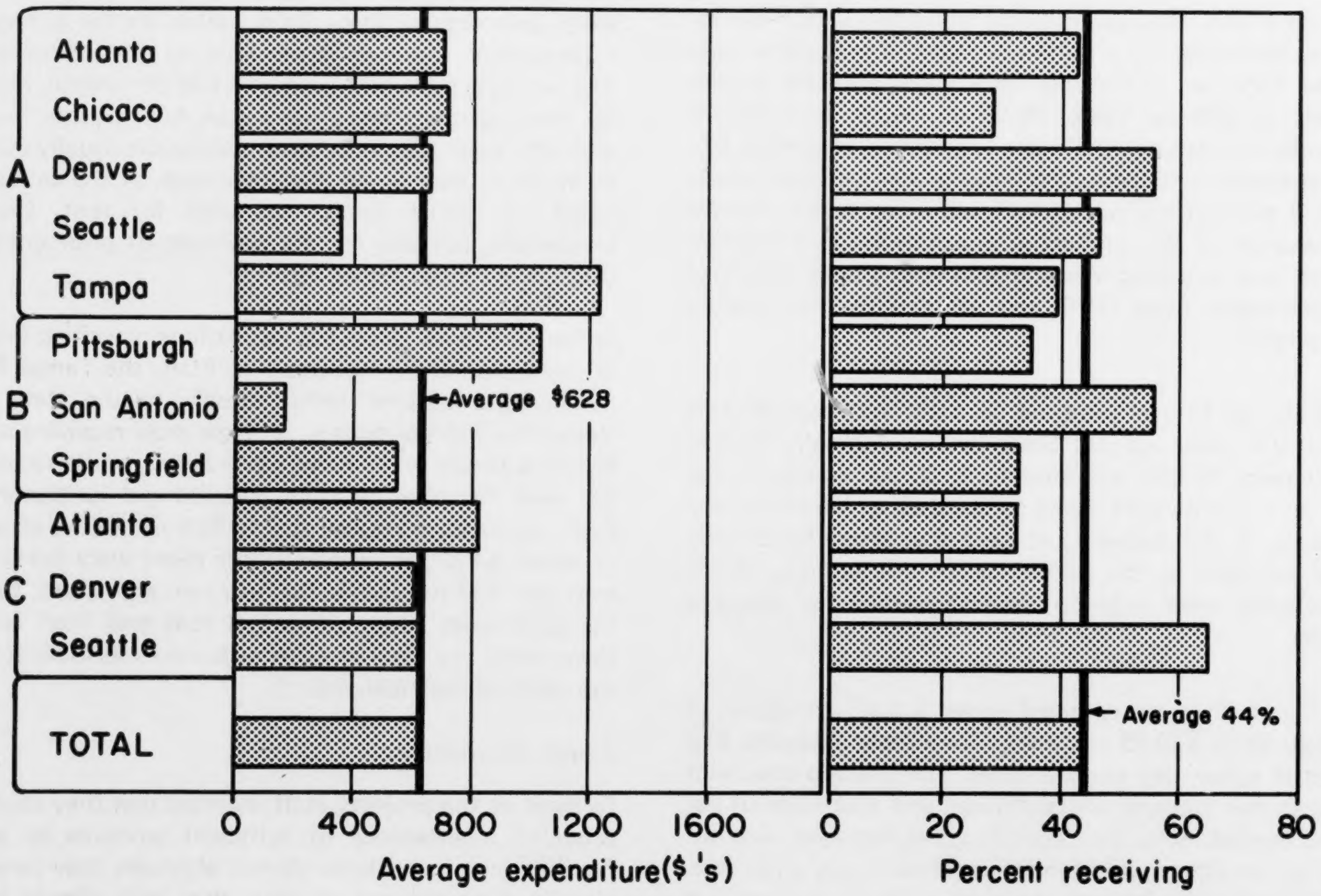
Expenditures in the training/tools category were often small and seldom large. One-fourth of the clients received training/tools services worth less than $100, and nearly two-fifths fell below the $200 mark. Over 20 per cent of the total clientele who were provided service were awarded training expenditures of $1,000 or more. The average expenditure was $628.

The mean expenditures in San Antonio and Seattle A were considerably lower than this FOR total mean of $628 across projects. Higher expenditures occurred in Atlanta C, Pittsburgh and Tampa.

In summary, it would appear that the various projects adopted different approaches to providing training and/or tools. Some were quite selective in this provision, devoting large sums of money to a few cases. Others were less selective to start with and consequently ended up with low mean expenditures for many clients. Atlanta C, Chicago and Pittsburgh appeared to be especially selective. San Antonio B and Seattle C were less selective. Springfield was near the bottom both in terms of dollars and numbers.

Selectivity would be implied if training/tools were seen as a means of eliminating a vocational handicap, or, if gaining appropriate employment were not the central issue for a particular project's clientele. The lack of selectivity would be implied if training/tools were just another, usually quite available, means to promote the client's community stability. The key seems to be that under FOR training/tools was an additional device for the VRC's use in helping offender clients go straight. If this device offered some possibilities for advancing that cause, no matter how, then it was considered worth the cost.

FIGURE IV.4. – AVERAGE COST AND PROPORTION OF CLIENTS RECEIVING TRAINING/TOOLS
(Project By Project Comparison)



PROVISION OF MAINTENANCE

In regular VR, maintenance is primarily a form of income supplement which permits a client to eat while engaged in training without pay. Since it was not only much more than that under FOR but also the service most highly debated with regular administrators and fiscal agents, the form maintenance took in contrast to the regular program emerges most clearly project state by project state. To illustrate this wide divergence in 1965, the seven parent VR agencies were providing maintenance to 20 per cent of their rehabilitated clients, while nearly two-thirds of the FOR rehabilitated clients received maintenance. The mean 1965 expenditure for the rehabilitated clients under the regular program was $378; under FOR the average expenditure was $1,034, almost 3 times as much as in the regular program.

This service category was in turn divided into three types: first, basic support for clients in training, undergoing evaluation or awaiting job placement or receipt of first pay; second, income supplement; third, emergency funding, which was provided on a short-term basis for very specific purposes. In the belief that maintenance was the most unique service in the FOR treatment pattern, each project was asked to report on the state agency limitations under which it operated and the kinds of disbursements it made.

Basic Support Maintenance

Most state agencies imposed a dollar maximum on maintenance. Within the prescribed limits the usage of funds was sometimes specified, and at others left completely up to the client.

Since the two Georgia Projects operated under similar policies governing the provision of maintenance, they were treated together. An upper limit was imposed in the amount of $20 per week, $8.50 of which went toward incidental maintenance; haircuts, toothpaste, cigarettes, etc. The remainder was devoted to lunches and weekend meals. The full amount did not include room and board. Family maintenance, or the support of dependents (an innovative service), was furnished in accordance with a table drawn up by Washington State DVR and adopted by the Georgia FOR project.

The Colorado Project operated on a different basis than its parent VR state agency. State policy originally limited maintenance to $90 and later to $125 per month. In the FOR unit, clients were asked to list their expenditures and resources; if the former surpassed the latter, funds were issued to make up the difference. In this fashion, clients theoretically were extended enough money for adequate support.

The Illinois Projects operated under a state limitation of approximately $40-45 per week. They never exceeded that except in a few very unusual cases. The Chicago counselor felt that this amount was sufficient and that none of her clients needed more. This consideration, however, was not based on an assessment of living expenses in any given case. In the Springfield Project, the state-approved amount was issued routinely.

The Pennsylvania Project, when it was operating under the regulations of its state agency, was held to disbursements of $38 per week – $18 or less for rent and the remainder for food. Incidentals were not taken into consideration. The Pittsburgh counselor reported adamantly that he never provided pocket money, but that he did issue the amount prescribed by his parent agency. After permission was received to innovate, maintenance could be issued in any amount considered reasonable. Although that did not seem to make much difference in terms of dollar amount, it did lead to a greater variety of reasons for which funds could be extended.

Texas VR imposed an upper limit on maintenance of $120 per month for any given client, but it was almost impossible to get even that much approved, according to the project counselor. He did manage to procure $100 frequently, $80 occasionally and $20 once in a while, this last amount for transportation. A policy change occurred about 18 months into the project after which supervisory approval for all maintenance expenditures was mandatory. The counselor saw this as an unpleasant procedure, and it appeared to have influenced his attitude toward providing maintenance in general. In Texas, they did have a table, based on family size and income, for determining the amount of maintenance necessary. Amounts were not restricted but, then, the tables were not used either; instead maintenance sums were established by a policy determination more restrictive than the tables would have been. Counselor Irby Adams issued maintenance for clients themselves alone. Under the policy limitations, there was never enough money for family support, and in fact a full $120 per month would have scarcely permitted anything but a sub-marginal existence in San Antonio.

During the latter part of its career, the Washington Projects were governed by State DVR policy on the provision of maintenance, although there were no restrictions at first. This amount remained fixed at $109 per month, plus rent, for the majority of the project span, but was later increased to $125, again plus rent. Both counselors usually extended as much as they could. Determination of the amount was based on family needs, not only for rent, food and incidentals, but also for the payment of prior contracted debts, like car payments, etc.

Although Florida State VR regulations governing provision of maintenance did not apply to FOR, the Tampa Project nevertheless adhered rather closely to the state limits. Under the Florida system, a single man receiving support from his family while he was in training, would receive $20 per week for transportation, lunches and incidentals. The FOR counselor increased this to $26 per week, an average of about $100 per month. If the client were living on his own and had to provide for his room and board, then the Tampa Project added on actual rent and food costs. In these cases, the total amount disbursed was modified to fit the needs of the individual.

Family Maintenance

In most of the projects, staff reported that they could have provided maintenance in sufficient amounts to support families (not just clients alone), although they rarely did. Usually they did not do this, they said, simply because circumstances warranting such a benefit did not arise.

In Atlanta, family maintenance was scaled according to the table drawn up by Washington State VR, based upon the number of dependents involved. In Denver, project staff thought that they provided enough money to support families, and occasionally maintenance was continued to the family when a client was hospitalized, usually for psychiatric or alcoholic problems.

In Chicago, instead of giving support to families, clients were referred to public assistance. In a few cases, the counselor provided maintenance in what she considered to be sufficient amounts to support her clients' children until public assistance became involved. She did not have any occasion to disburse family maintenance while the client herself was out of the community, for instance, in a hospital. The other Illinois counselor, in Springfield, was apparently authorized to underwrite maintenance only for clients in training, and since he did not have any married clients in training, this precluded family maintenance. He did occasionally sponsor family support under emergency conditions. Once he gave money to a family while the client was in jail, making out a check to the man, knowing full well it was for the family.

In Pittsburgh, although the counselor emphatically stated that he did not proffer family maintenance, he did go on to say that in one case he extended maintenance to a man in training whose wife worked. In three different months, he gave him $80 for rent. But he did not provide funds for the families of men who were either in jail or hospitalized. In the Seattle Project when the content of vouchers began to be questioned by the accounting section of the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, a schedule of allowable maintenance payments was worked out, based on the client and the number of dependents, giving the counselor an opportunity to consider total resources and needs of a given family. But in the summer of 1967 all that came to a halt, when a decision was handed down to limit disbursements to those authorized for ongoing programs. At the time of this policy statement, however, one concession was made: clients already on the maintenance rolls would receive amounts as they had before, but new cases would be forced into the limited pattern. In order to allow wives a reasonable opportunity to make some kind of readjustment and seek new sources of income when their husbands were jailed, if they had been receiving maintenance, the Seattle Plan A counselor continued to furnish it for one or two months. The Seattle C counselor, on the other hand, disbursed sufficient maintenance for family support if necessary, but he never extended maintenance to the families of men who were in jail or hospitalized.

In Texas, since the amount of money available for maintenance was quite low, the San Antonio Project, in effect, never supported families, only individual clients. In a couple of cases they did furnish family support almost by accident. This would occur when a client had been jailed after the state office had already approved the check and it was in transit. In Tampa, family support was not considered, primarily because circumstances warranting it did not arise; maintenance was not given to the families of men who were in jail or hospitalized.

Emergency Maintenance

In working with public offenders a paramount need was discovered for some way to provide emergency funds. There were a number of ways in which this was managed, however, only Atlanta's was really satisfactory. There each of the two counselors was eventually authorized to utilize an imprest bank account, or petty cash fund. Instituted about a year and a half after the project began, this practice permitted each counselor to write checks in direct payment to his clients, who could then proceed to nearby banks, cash their checks and use their money according to their own designs. It was in this manner that most of the $20 per week checks were processed.

The Denver Project allied itself with the Colorado Prison Association, which could provide money immediately, whereas it took two weeks to process a check through the state VR agency. The Denver counselor also appeared to call upon the Prison Association occasionally when he wanted to provide relatively small sums and was not sure that his VR agency would approve them.

Emergency maintenance in Chicago came from the Blind and Sight-saving Alumni Association. Although processing money through the Association took several days, it was still an improvement over the way things had been in the beginning, when no emergency funds were available at all. Even though it took a while for a client to get her hands on any cash, the disbursement of funds through the Association was considered emergency maintenance because by contrast, it took Illinois VR seven weeks to process a check. The second Illinois Project, Springfield, also took advantage of this unusual alliance with the Association. Here, again, funds were always issued by public check.

The Pittsburgh counselor was not very interested in emergency funds. He, in fact, never provided cash, but once the project had contracted for innovative services through the Pennsylvania Rehabilitation Center and Grub Stake, Inc., clients could get money within twenty minutes.

The two Seattle Projects had essentially three systems for providing emergency maintenance. Arrangements were made with the Seattle First Avenue Service Center, a small meeting place and social service agency for offenders, for that agency to provide money on a cash basis and to be later reimbursed by VR accounting. On the surface this would appear to have been a sound solution, but actually it presented an awkward situation because the Center was out of funds half the time and VR was slow to reimburse. So one of the counselors contrived another way to come up with emergency cash. He issued grocery vouchers, and this enabled clients to have an assured food source, freeing other income for other purposes. In addition, the Seattle counselors always had access to that source of emergency cash common to their counterparts in all the projects who did not enjoy a good source of emergency cash: out of pocket currency. Counselor Wallace Green claims that he was paid back almost all of the money that he dished out personally, because he initiated a system of withholding maintenance checks when they came in from the state office and demanding payment before he would hand over the checks. In other instances, he accompanied his clients when they went to cash their checks, expecting payment forthwith.

San Antonio had, in effect, no emergency source of funds. However, Counselor Adams could make arrangements for an advance on maintenance checks through local contract training agencies; and he could occasionally persuade his clients' landlords to delay rent payment; and, although it did not work out very satisfactorily, he once arranged a loan for a client through family welfare.

The Tampa Project was also deprived of a source of emergency funding. The Florida State VR office rejected an emergency fund source from within its fiscal department because of the many financial complications they foresaw in such a practice. Counselor Steve Mazurek did approach the Salvation Army and Travelers' Aid hoping that some scheme for expedient disbursement could be devised with replenishment to eventually follow from VR, but these two agencies were not eager to tie up their funds in this fashion. In the end, Mazurek dug into his personal funds and was never repaid. He apparently did not expect repayment and did not ask for it.

Circumstances Leading To The Provision of Maintenance

Since the circumstances leading to the provision of maintenance in FOR were markedly different from regular VR, these will also be reviewed state by state. Most regular VR maintenance is provided in conjunction with another service, usually training. But this was not true in Atlanta. In that project, it was given out under any circumstance. In fact, if a client unwisely spent his maintenance, the Atlanta counselors could give him more. They even provided family maintenance to men who were working and required income supplement for awhile.

In Chicago, maintenance was issued primarily to clients who were either in training or who had completed training and were awaiting receipt of first salary payment. The Chicago Project did not afford maintenance pending receipt of initial pay unless the need was preceded by training. But the counselor did occasionally authorize supplemental support for part-time employees.

Maintenance in Denver could be provided under a wide variety of circumstances: when clients were undergoing diagnostics; receiving medical service; were in training; were employed but awaiting first receipt of pay; almost anything. This was, in fact, routine under regular VR in Colorado.

State policy in Pennsylvania dictated that maintenance could be provided only in conjunction with training. Counselor Don Patterson in Pittsburgh therefore adhered to that regulation until he was officially liberated to innovate. After that, support was regularly provided outside of training.

In San Antonio, maintenance was not limited to training cases, although in practice this usually proved to be the case. On fewer occasions, urgent single incident situations were relieved through the sources previously described, regardless of the training or employment statuses of the clients at the time. The San Antonio Project even used maintenance to enlist client cooperation in the completion of research questionnaires, the acquisition of background data and, generally, in program participation. In the latter sense, the project was actually paying for some real need that clients might have had at a point in casework progress even before training might have been considered.

In Seattle, maintenance could be awarded for any reason. Plan C counselor Wally Green routinely afforded money to men released from prison for at least a month, until they were either paid or entered training. In the latter event, support was usually continued, and if somebody quit a training course, he still received money pending employment.

In Springfield, maintenance was regularly furnished as income supplement, as well as total income, and clients could spend it in any way they pleased. In practice, however, funds were extended only to people in training.

In Tampa, most maintenance recipients were in training. However, money could be given, and was given, to men convalescing from surgery. Although support pending receipt of first pay was legal in Florida, Counselor Mazurek was not altogether sure that he ever took advantage of this opportunity. His inclination was to try to get a client a job immediately rather than give him maintenance.

Innovative Uses of Maintenance

Since most of the innovative, or unusual, services provided under the FOR Program were coded under maintenance, counselors were asked to list maintenance services specifically in their final reports.

In Atlanta, maintenance meant a wide variety of things—transportation to a doctor's office, to a counselor's office or to work; room and board, household expenses, pocket money, clothes, and in one case, the expense incurred by moving an entire household.

In Denver, maintenance applied to almost any basic need—room and board, transportation, pocket money, clothing, and moving expense.

In Chicago, no attempt was made to define maintenance, although clients specifically were not expected to use it for clothing because free used clothing was passed out by the counselor and her friends.

In Springfield, maintenance was also unspecified. It can be assumed that it was used for pocket money, transportation, lunches, rent, household expenses, and so forth. Counselor Ben Krahn's clients usually got their clothing from the Salvation Army. Actually, when Krahn did authorize maintenance checks, basically for total or supplemental income, his clients were actually free to spend them in any fashion they desired.

In Seattle, support money was ordinarily identified as income or supplemental income. It was paid out, for example, to insure a client's ability to afford those things his own income would have provided had he not been in training. It was also used to supplement employment income if such a need were determined.

In San Antonio, maintenance was primarily directed toward the payment of debts, the provision of family medical attention, automobile repair, etc. It was usually disbursed only for short periods of time, keyed to whatever emergency prevailed.

In Tampa, maintenance went for clothing, transportation, rent, food, etc. Mazurek also provided some incidental maintenance for cigarettes, toothpaste and transportation. In one case, he underwrote moving expenses. Uniformly, money management was left to client discretion.

Some of the innovative services coded as maintenance included items to assist in the client's total support even though not all were maintenance in the usual sense.

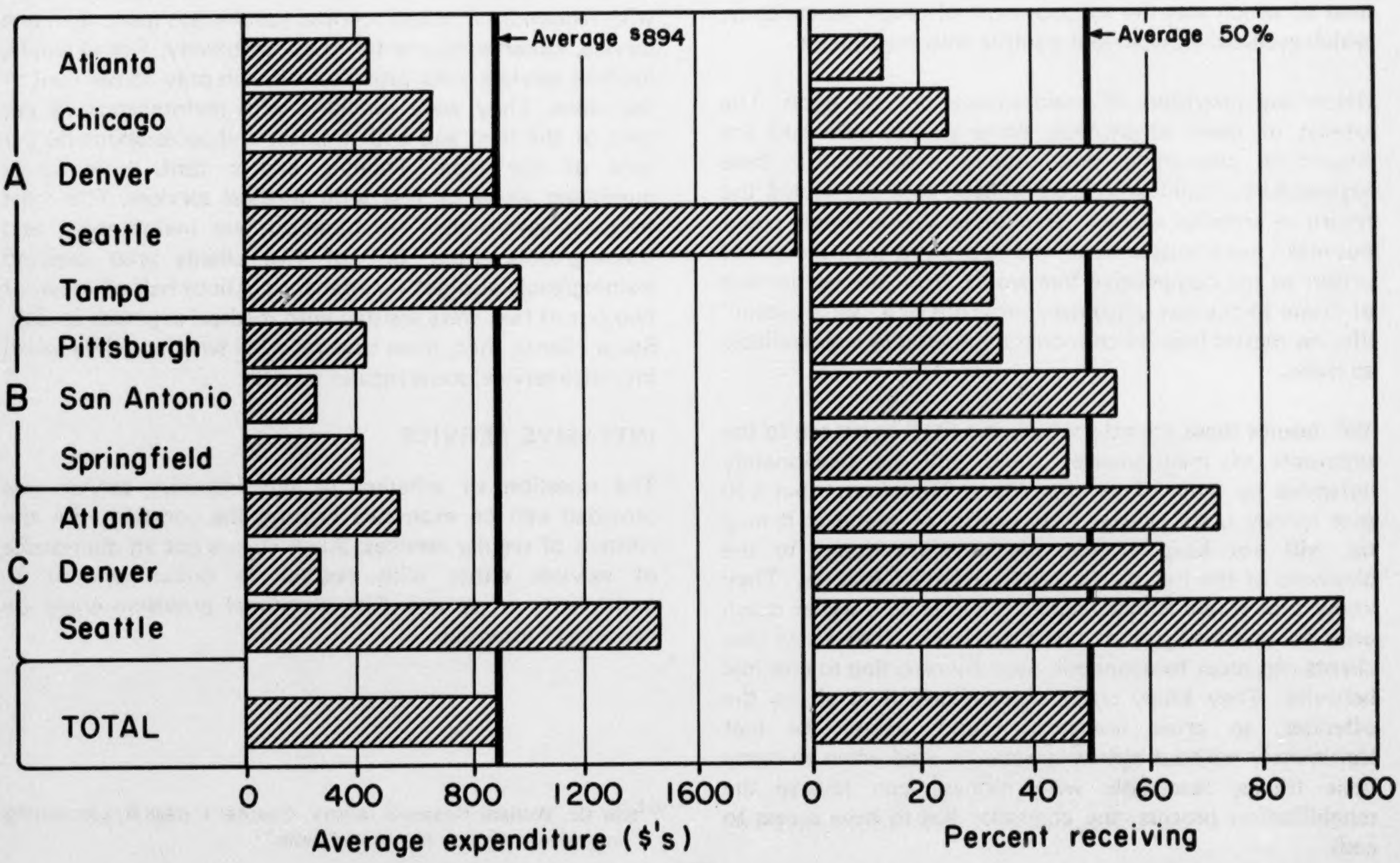
Summary of Use and Cost

The one thing that probably should be remembered about maintenance is that it was provided on a fairly routine basis except in San Antonio. In most of the projects it was seen either as a replacement for income if a client were in training, or it was viewed as a temporary income supplement for men who were inadequately employed.

It was with regard to the provision of emergency funds that most of the problems with state VR administration arose, and these problems had much to do with the fact that state accounting systems simply could not process vouchers fast enough to meet the sudden needs of the FOR offender clientele. On the one hand, it was all well and good to plan for training maintenance and spread checks throughout the appropriate period, but crisis situations made no allowance for foresight. Only the Atlanta Projects, where the counselors had imprest bank accounts, were able to totally avoid the delays inherent in any voucher processing system, either those of VR or of anyone else.

Given the limitations placed upon it as described above, maintenance was nevertheless the most commonly provided purchased service in the FOR Program; and even at that, only 50 per cent of those clients who actually were accepted for service received any. But about 3 out of every 4 people who received any purchased service also got maintenance, and maintenance alone was received by 51 of the 310 clients receiving purchased service. The average amount of money spent on maintenance was $894 per case over the total FOR caseload ($1,034 for rehabilitated cases) but half of those clients who received maintenance got less than $400, so obviously the one-fourth who received $1,000 or more pulled up the mean substantially. More than a third, in fact, received less than $200 in maintenance. The mean expenditure was, as noted earlier, $894 for the FOR total. This ranged from a low of $255 in San Antonio to a high of $1,982 in Seattle A.

FIGURE IV.5. – AVERAGE COST AND PROPORTION OF CLIENTS RECEIVING MAINTENANCE (Project By Project Comparison)



Maintenance was not the most frequently purchased service in Atlanta A, Chicago, Tampa, Pittsburgh and San Antonio, where tool and training expenditures predominated. But for Chicago, Tampa, Pittsburgh and San Antonio, maintenance expense occurred only a little less frequently (one to three fewer cases) than training/tools. Only Atlanta A remained aloof to the popular trend and gave out maintenance in markedly less abundance.

The proportion of clients receiving maintenance ranged widely around the central 50 per cent program figure, with a low of 11 per cent in Atlanta A to a high of 94 per cent in Seattle C.

Obviously, as indicated by the space devoted to it and the content within that space, from our perspective, maintenance departed even more radically from regular VR procedure than did the provision of medical services or training/tools. Strangely enough, this radical departure occurred even though regular policy limitations on maintenance were enforced throughout the experiment in two states; for part of the experiment in two other states; adhered to, although not enforced, in two states and ignored in only one. The deviation was possible only by straining established policy to its outer ranges. Unlike medical services and training/tools where the perspective was changed but still could be tolerated under the policies of most states, maintenance involved a change in perspective that was, in large part, barely tolerable, if at all. Maintenance was used as a catch-all term for those services, primarily cash, which bought off clients and particularly relieved their inabilities to delay gratification while undergoing planning for a change in life style. Sometimes the cash relief of maintenance, given state limitations, fell far short of meeting a client's legitimate financial needs, needs which could be tremendous. Many of the counselors realized there were real dangers in this approach, not the least of which was the enhancement of client dependency, which eventually demanded a subtle weaning process.

Often the provision of maintenance did no good. The receipt of basic subsistence, some pocket cash and the supportive counseling that usually accompanied these expenditures could still leave a need that demanded the return to criminal activity. Sometimes clients simply could not make the transition from the structured environment of prison to the competitive free world, from the excitement of crime to the less sanguinary pleasures of a "square-john" life, no matter how much monetary assistance was available to them.

Yet despite these considerations, the FOR approach to the provision of maintenance would still be passionately defended by most of its counselors. They know that $40 gate money upon release from prison, or whatever it may be, will not keep a man, newly re-introduced to the pleasures of the free world, until receipt of first pay. They know that stupid things happen, like laying a wallet down on a bar and losing all of one's paycheck. They know that clients can react to economic need by reverting to criminal behavior. They know credit comes hard, if at all, to the offender, so crisis needs for funds cannot be met legitimately without agency assistance. And when so many little things, resolvable with money, can reverse the rehabilitation process, the counselor has to have access to cash.

REGULAR PURCHASED SERVICES—A SUMMARY

About half of the FOR experimental clients got the service which corrections had originally sought, that is, purchased service. What they received through these services appears on the surface to be different only in terms of the proportion of recipient clients and the average cost. FOR clients apparently received fewer restorative medical services than would have been expected in comparison to regular VR, although these services were provided at nearly the expected cost to approximately the same proportion of the clientele as in regular VR. More FOR clients got training and at a higher cost. Many more got maintenance and at a considerably higher cost.

In fact, the differences between regular VR and FOR in terms of cost and proportion of recipient clients were probably not as significant as the differences in the content or intent of these services. Every service was important as long as the counselor believed that it resolved a problem in the client's life which would otherwise lead to community instability. Thus medical services were not restorative, but supportive, primarily for treating intercurrent illness and for adjustment therapy. Training was not necessarily designed to eliminate a vocational handicap but, again, to promote community stability. Maintenance was not just a means of insuring basic support during training but a way to provide the necessary cash to forestall illegal solutions for fiscal problems and desires. These changes were a form of intensive service by virtue of the fact that they were different from regular VR—but that hardly seems sufficient to denote "intensive service on an optimal basis."[61]

Optimal intensive service implies a concentrated comprehensive set of services. And, in fact, the 320 clients who received purchased services usually got more than one service, either concurrently or consecutively. For example, medical services were provided alone in only 13 per cent of the cases. They were provided with maintenance 78 per cent of the time and with training and tools about 68 per cent of the time. Training and/or tools were rarely purchased alone or just with medical services. The most frequent two-service combination was maintenance and training/tools. Four out of five clients who received training/tools also got maintenance. About half of these, or two out of five, were assisted with medical expenses as well. Some clients, then, must have received what could be called intensive service; some regular service.

INTENSIVE SERVICE

The question of whether or not intensive service was provided can be examined beyond the contrast with the content of regular services. Some clients got an abundance of services either with respect to dollar amount or multiplicity of service. Either optimal provision could be considered intensive.

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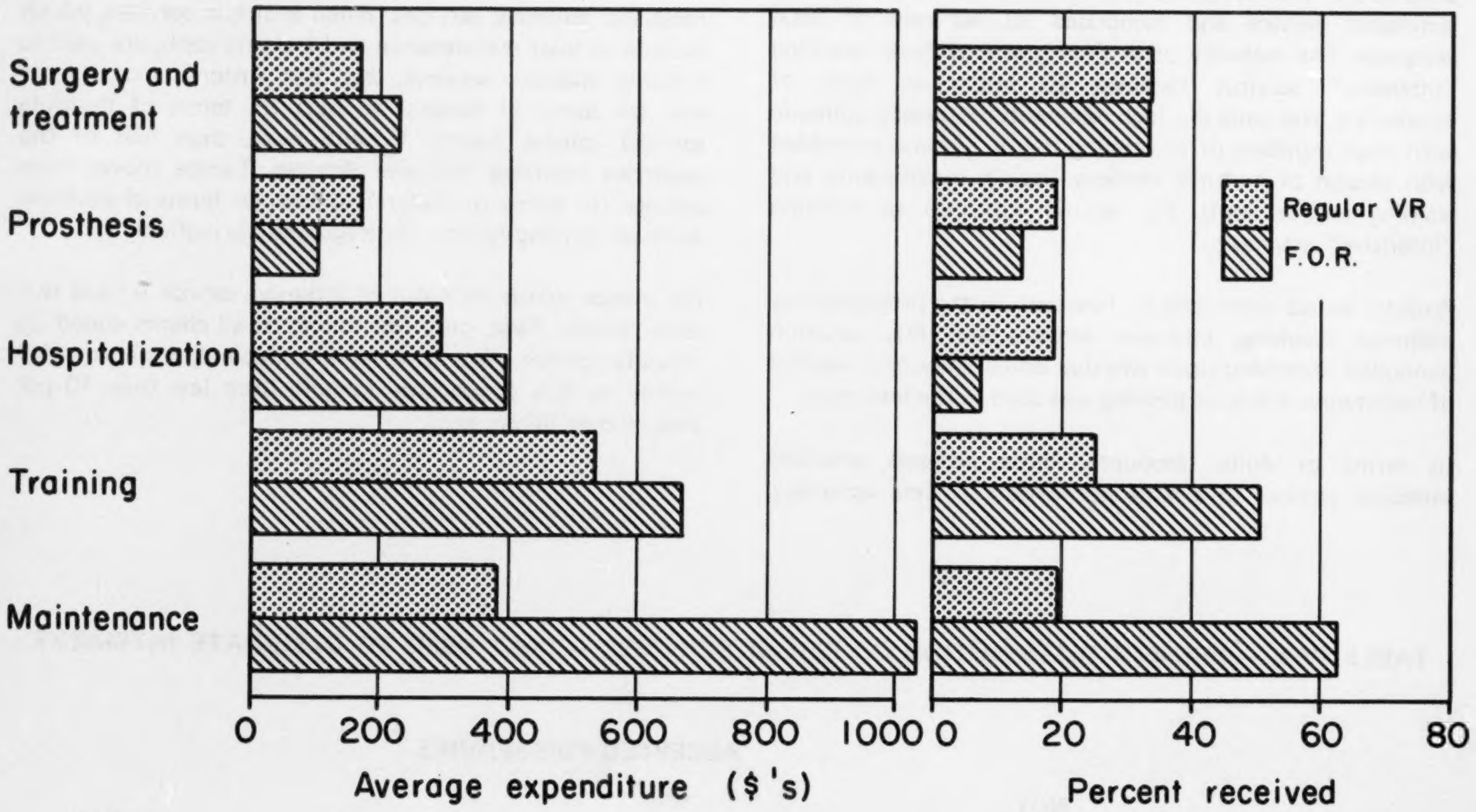
[61] See Dr. William Usdane's remark, Chapter I, page 8, concerning "intensive service on an optimal basis."

FIGURE IV.6.—AVERAGE COST AND PROPORTION OF CLIENTS RECEIVING PURCHASED SERVICE: COMPARISON BETWEEN REGULAR VR AND *FOR*

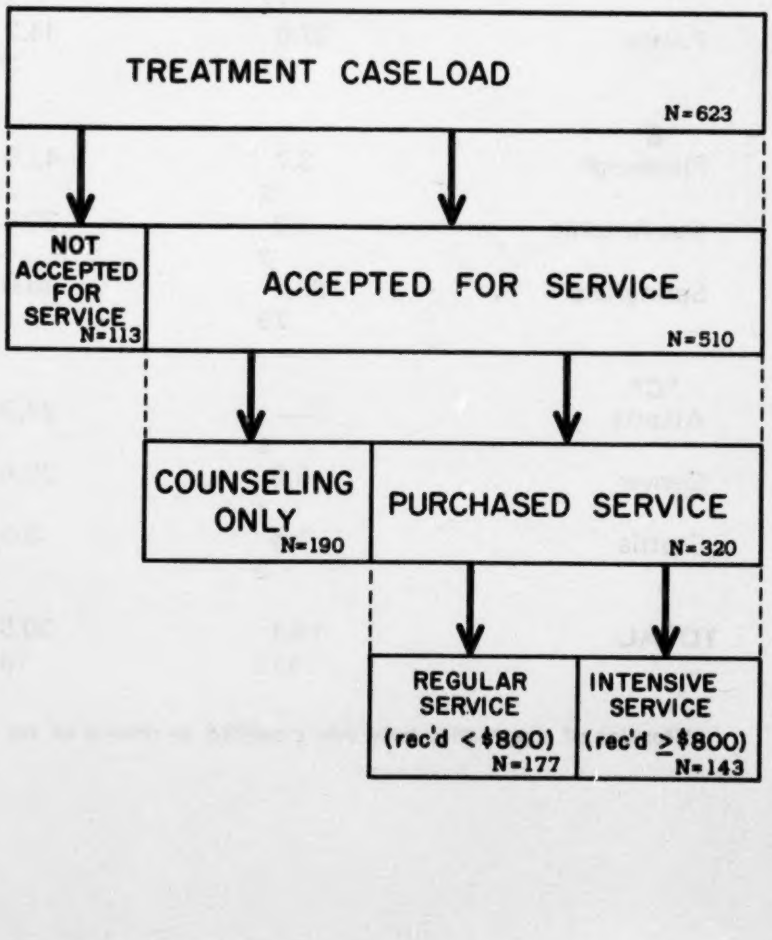


But another perspective should be examined. Since FOR caseloads were limited to no more than 50 intensive clients at any one time, there was an opportunity to offer extensive counseling per se, and so numbers of counseling hours actually extended also relates a measure of intensity. Finally, something subtle and complex should be considered—the theme that has threaded this whole discussion of treatment: the counselor's changing perception of his basic role. All of these questions will be reviewed in the following sections.

"INTENSIVE" OR "REGULAR" PURCHASED SERVICE

In terms of the amount of service received, total assignees can be divided into four groups: the first group is, of course, those persons who were never accepted for service and hence did not receive any. They numbered 113 or 18 per cent of the total assignees. The second group, though accepted for service, received no purchased service except possibly diagnostics. They numbered 190, or 31 per cent of total assignees. A little over half (109) received less than five hours of counseling while the remainder (81) received at least five and as much as thirty-one hours of counseling. Thus the first two groups, comprising about half the population, did not receive any real purchased services, although a few did receive considerable counseling. The last two groups comprise the second half of the population—those receiving some purchased service. If number of dollars of purchased services is used to differentiate "regular" from "intensive" services, the following picture emerges. Slightly over half of those receiving purchased services received less than $800 worth.

FIGURE IV.7.—THE FLOW OF *FOR* CLIENTS THROUGH THE TREATMENT PROCESS: INTENSIVE SERVICES PROVIDED



This group of 177 persons comprised 28 per cent of total assignees. Within this group the number of counseling hours varied considerably though the majority of clients received 5-19 hours. The last group of 143 received $800 or more of purchased service and comprised 23 per cent of total assignees. The majority of this last group of those receiving "intensive" services received 20 hours or more of counseling. Not only did high expenditures usually coincide with large numbers of counseling hours, but also coincided with receipt of multiple services—usually maintenance and training and/or tools, the second approach to defining "intensive" services.

Projects varied considerably, however, in the proportion of assignees receiving intensive services and this variation depended somewhat upon whether dollar amount or receipt of maintenance and/or training was used as the indicator.

In terms of dollar amounts, three projects provided intensive services to a large proportion of their assignees; half received intensive services in Seattle C and approximately 40 per cent received them in Denver A and Atlanta C. San Antonio, Chicago, Springfield, and Atlanta A were all well below average with only around 10 per cent receiving intensive services. When multiple services, which include at least maintenance and training/tools, are used to indicate intensive services, then San Antonio moves from low (in terms of dollars) to high (in terms of multiple service) joining Seattle C with more than half of the assignees receiving intensive services. Tampa moves from average (in terms of dollars) to low (in terms of multiple services), joining Atlanta, Chicago and Springfield.

No matter which indicator of intensive service is used two facts remain. First, only one-fourth of all clients ended up actually receiving intensive services. Second, projects varied widely in this proportion, ranging from less than 10 per cent to over 50 per cent.

TABLE IV.1. – PROJECT DISTRIBUTION OF CLIENT SERVICES – COST USED TO DESIGNATE INTENSIVE

PROJECT	NOT ACCEPTED FOR SERVICE	ACCEPTED FOR SERVICE			TOTAL ASSIGNEES
		No Purchased Service*	Regular Service $1-799	Intensive Service $800+	
A					
Atlanta	26.2 16	34.4 21	26.2 16	13.1 8	61
Chicago	23.5 12	49.0 25	15.7 8	11.8 6	51
Denver	11.0 8	27.4 20	23.3 17	38.4 28	73
Seattle	21.3 17	30.0 24	25.0 20	23.8 19	80
Tampa	37.0 27	34.2 25	6.8 5	21.9 16	73
B					
Pittsburgh	3.7 2	42.6 23	33.3 18	20.4 11	54
San Antonio	3.2 2	28.6 18	58.7 37	9.5 6	63
Springfield	36.1 26	25.0 18	26.4 19	12.5 9	72
C					
Atlanta	------- 0	20.9 9	39.5 17	39.5 17	43
Denver	5.9 1	29.4 5	35.3 6	29.4 5	17
Seattle	5.6 2	5.6 2	38.9 14	50.0 18	36
TOTAL	18.1 113	30.5 190	28.4 177	23.0 143	623

*Receipt of diagnostics only was classified as receipt of no purchased service.

TABLE IV.2. – PROJECT DISTRIBUTION OF CLIENT SERVICES – MULTIPLICITY OF SERVICE USED TO DESIGNATE INTENSIVE

PROJECT	NOT ACCEPTED FOR SERVICE	ACCEPTED FOR SERVICE			TOTAL ASSIGNEES
		No Purchased Service*	Purchased Services		
			Excluding Maint. & Tr/Tools	Including Maint. & Tr/Tools	
A					
Atlanta	26.2 16	34.4 21	34.4 21	4.9 3	61
Chicago	23.5 12	49.0 25	7.8 4	19.6 10	51
Denver	11.0 8	27.4 20	30.1 22	31.5 23	73
Seattle	21.3 17	30.0 24	12.5 10	36.3 29	80
Tampa	37.0 27	34.2 25	11.0 8	17.8 13	73
B					
Pittsburgh	3.7 2	42.6 23	29.6 16	24.1 13	54
San Antonio	3.2 2	28.6 18	11.1 7	57.1 36	63
Springfield	36.1 26	25.0 18	25.0 18	13.9 10	72
C					
Atlanta	------- 0	20.9 9	51.2 22	27.9 12	43
Denver	5.9 1	29.4 5	23.5 4	41.2 7	17
Seattle	5.6 2	5.6 2	30.6 11	58.3 21	36
TOTAL	18.1 113	30.5 190	23.0 143	28.4 177	623

*Receipt of diagnostics only was classified as receipt of no purchased service.

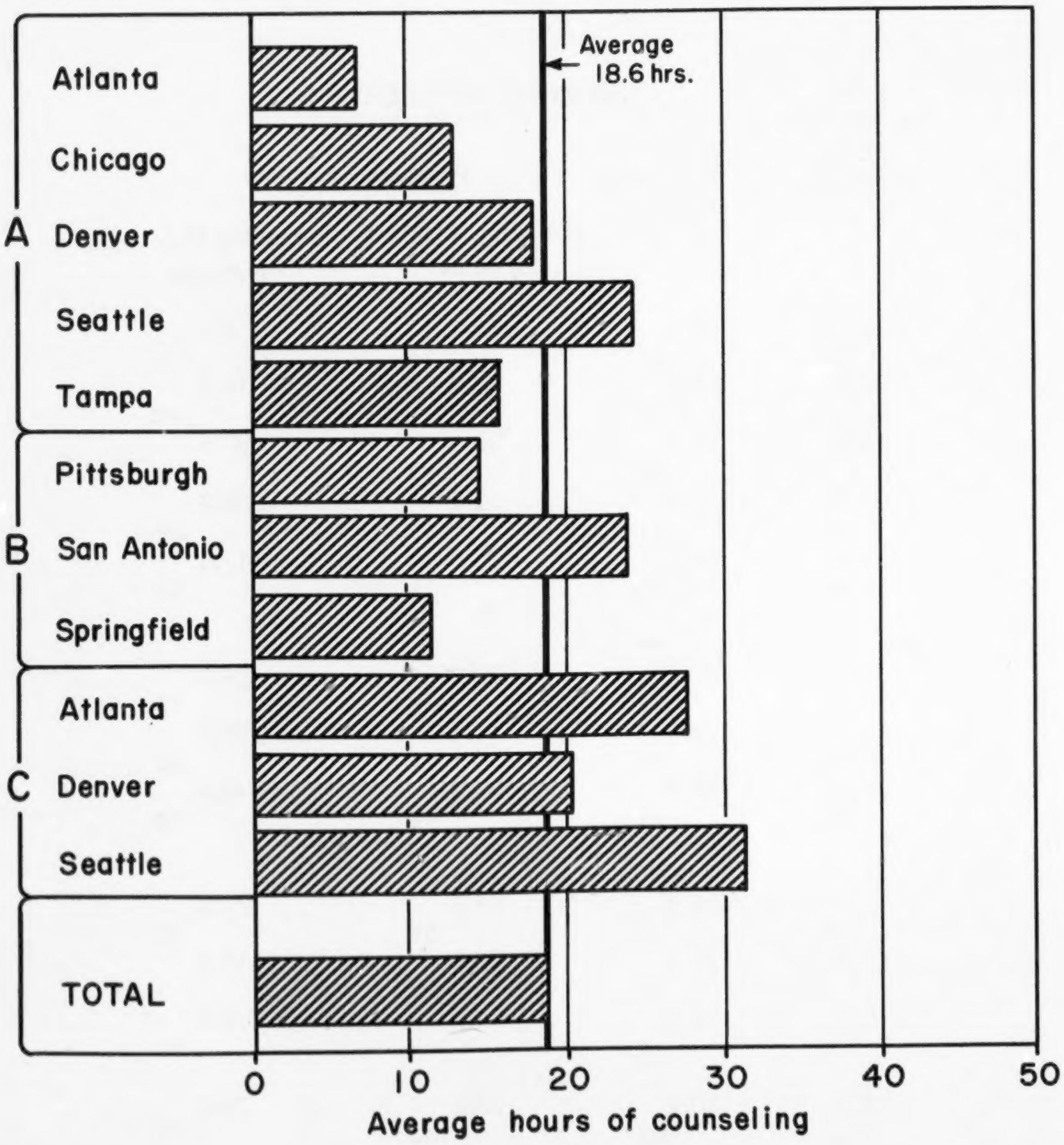
COUNSELING HOURS

One innovation was built into the structure of the FOR research design: caseloads were limited to no more than 50 intensive service clients at any one time, a number about one-half to one-third of that usually served by VR counselors. The thought here, of course, was that intensive counseling would result, and that there would even be time to assess secondary client needs. It seemed only logical to assume that excellent client-counselor relationships would be developed through the prodigious number of counseling hours made possible by caseload size reduction. Only it did not always work out that way.

The overall mean was 18.6 hours per client, with actual counseling hours going as high as 120 hours for some clients. As would be expected, those clients who received purchased service got more counseling than did clients who got counseling only. The median range of counseling hours for all clients was 10 to 14, but for those clients who received medical services the median was 25 to 29 hours, for those who received training/tools the median was 20-24 hours, for those who received maintenance the median was also 20-24 hours. The median counseling hours for those who received medical services was not only higher than for those who received either maintenance or training/tools; but it was also higher than for all purchased services combined. In the case of both medical services and maintenance higher expenditures were associated with more hours of counseling.

Although the overall mean was 18.6 hours per client, there was extreme variability among projects. Atlanta A provided only 6.4 hours of counseling per client, Springfield, 11.2; Chicago, 12.8; Pittsburgh, 14.5; Tampa, 15.7, which

FIGURE IV.8. – AVERAGE HOURS OF COUNSELING (Project By Project Comparison)



approached the mean, while Denver A and Denver C were right on the mean. Seattle A and San Antonio exceeded the mean with 24.2 hours and 23.9 hours respectively. Atlanta C had a mean of 27.7 hours and Seattle C, 31.3 hours.

Since the actual number of clients varied considerably in the different projects, it was difficult to justifiably state that one counselor spent an unusual amount of his personal time on his clients. For that reason, research staff figured out the total number of hours each counselor spent in counseling activity. There were a couple of qualifications which confused the issue. Both San Antonio and the two Seattle projects enlisted the assistance of a counselor aide during the last year and a half of the program, and it was difficult to determine how their activities affected average counseling hours. It was also believed that a couple of the projects, Tampa for one, added in time spent trying to find clients; and that shifted averages somewhat. Since the ratio of face-to-face contact applied to average hours extended per client does not vary very much, allowing about one hour per contact, it is assumed that the figures recorded for San Antonio and Seattle or Tampa were not far off.

The average number of VRC hours devoted to counseling activities was 934 throughout the three and one-half year program. This varied so among projects that it is interesting to note below the wide range:

Project	Hours
Atlanta A	280
Chicago	500
Springfield	516
Tampa	677
Pittsburgh	725
Seattle C	1,034
Atlanta C	1,190
Denver A & C	1,435
San Antonio	1,458
Seattle A	1,526

Although either 18.6 hours of counseling per client or 934 hours of counseling per VRC seems intensive in contrast to regular VR, there remains some question as to whether this represents an ideal maximum of intensive counseling. One factor affecting that answer is the length of case service, that is, the period of time over which counseling was possible.

In fact, the length of case service was also quite long by comparison to that in most regular VR programs. Excluding time spent in trying to locate clients or time spent in dormant follow-up after successful employment adjustment, cases were actively served for an average of 82 weeks or about 19 months. This also varied a great deal from project to project, from a low of 67 weeks to a high of 121 weeks.

These figures on length of case service and hours of counseling seem to indicate several possibilities which should receive additional exploration. Intensive service may not be uniformly synonymous with a lot of counseling; although it was in some FOR cases. In fact, intensive counseling may not be indicated for some offenders. What can be concluded from this information on case service length and counseling is that the casework process in correctional rehabilitation is generally long and complex and generally requires more counselor involvement than working with the physically disabled.

Another possible conclusion is that a fixed 50 client caseload may not constitute enough cases to keep a counselor busy unless the counselor changes his style even more than he did under FOR. This brings us to what was probably the most radical difference between FOR and regular VR, a difference that began to emerge toward the end of FOR's treatment period—the changed role of the counselor.

THE EMERGING ROLE OF THE *FOR* COUNSELOR

If the FOR Program is ever to put forth any real claim of a unique nature of its own, it will have to do so through an explanation of the changing emphasis its counselors placed upon their work, which is exemplified as well as anywhere in the comments of Seattle A counselor, Frank Swinehart:

> "The approach to the casework process dealing with the federal offender is necessarily different in many aspects than that followed by the counselor with the usual VR client. A great deal of time and effort must be expended in overcoming the suspiciousness, mistrust, and fear which is generally in the mind of the average offender. Of course, before any constructive counseling can take place, all or most of these feelings must be altered or alleviated. A great deal of time is also needed in convincing the client of the confidentiality of the counseling relationship. Once this is accomplished, the counselor can start to help the client face the reality that it is he and not society who is out of step, that it was he and not the police or the probation/parole officer who put him in prison, that it is he who is going to have to make some changes. At the same time the client needs to be reassured that change is possible and that the counselor not only wants to help him in going through the process, but more important, that the counselor views the client as a human being and as an individual worth helping, and even more important, that he will follow through when he offers whatever services he may offer.
>
> "Initially, the parole officer can be of great assistance in getting the client to the rehabilitation counselor. The probation/parole officer, however, should be cautious not to oversell the rehabilitation program because of the danger of creating a greater barrier between the client and the counselor through his close association with the probation officer. Once a counselor-client relationship has been established, close communication between the probation office and the VR staff is extremely important. It was typical of the pattern that developed in the majority of cases handled by this counselor that an initial letter was sent to notify the client of the availability of FOR services and there was usually no response until such time as a crisis had arisen. This could be from lack of funds, lack of employment, further trouble with the law, illness, trouble with the family or spouse, or one of any of a great many crisis situations. The procedure followed differed from working with the general VR client. It was to handle the crisis, as the client viewed it at that particular moment, quickly without careful evaluation such as medical examinations, psychological testing and psychiatric evaluations. No attempt was made at that time to make any change through counseling the client or to help him see what his real problems were. This is what most offenders expect from a counselor whether it be an institution counselor, rehabilitation counselor, or a probation/parole officer. When he finds out, much to his surprise, that he doesn't get the same old trite lecture but gets a promise of action, and in fact gets some action, he is then much more in a position to start, with the help of the counselor, looking at himself in a rather critical way. In many instances, the counselor has to come through several times before the client completes his testing of the counselor and is able to engage in the casework process. At times, the crisis situation became so severe before or after the counseling process had been initiated that the client was reincarcerated. Once again the counselor had to come through, and in many cases the fact that the client was not rejected at that stage was the final selling point in the client-counselor relationship. The client, when he was reincarcerated and found that the counselor was still there, still cared, had something to look forward to, something that could give him purpose for self-improvement while in the institution.
>
> "The counselor had to be aware of the dependency state that was being created and although it involved danger, dependency on the part of the client was necessary, at least in the beginning. The danger, of course, was to allow the client to continue his dependent role to the point of no return. The counselor was often asked, 'When is the best time to sever the umbilical cord?'; and there is no general answer to this question as each client is an individual

> with his own personality, his own set of needs, and his own situations. The process was not a quick severing with a sharp knife in most cases, but a gradual withdrawal of the counselor's participation. In many cases, however, where the cord was severed too soon, an additional operation was necessary to plug the client back into the counselor. When the timing was right, we could expect to end the counseling process with an adequately functioning client (adequately functioning according to his standards and not necessarily the middle-class standards of the rehabilitation counselor)."

Another assessment of the counselor's role in correctional rehabilitation, as it was observed during the FOR Program, was prepared by Dr. Adolph Whiting, Consultant in Psychiatry to the Seattle Project. Although it is the opinion of program staff that this is one of the finest among the hundreds of documents that were collected over the course of the experiment, not only because of its observations on counseling public offenders, but also because of its perceptive admonition toward the administration of correctional rehabilitation programs, its length is such that it cannot be included here. Because of its importance we refer to the full text in Appendix J.

Dr. Whiting suggests:

> "The successful counselor, I believe, must have the capacity to dislike actively something about the client. He may restrain the expression of this feeling in his contact with the client, but at some point in his relationship with him he must be able consciously and fully to feel dislike. It is through this process, if fully carried through, that he becomes capable of discriminating between what is likable and understandable in the client and what is disliked so that he can eventually deal with the troublesome aspect of the client's personality. If this is not accomplished at some time in the relationship with the client, the situation remains one in which the counselor feels dislike for the client. When that happens it is only good fortune or the client's ability at self-confrontation and his determination to use the services of the counselor which can bring the venture to a satisfactory conclusion. The counselor must be able to confront the client eventually with his ineffective and destructive behavior pattern. . . . The counselor can be taught the principles, strategies and techniques of counseling forever, but unless he has certain personality qualifications he should specialize in dealing with other kinds of personalities. Kindness, gentleness, altruism, understanding are not adequate. The counselor needs the capacity to get indignant at the right point in his relationships with the client. . . .
>
> "I think implicit in my statement is the idea that the counselor dealing with offenders is no longer operating in the field of rehabilitation. His job should be renamed in order to assist a clarification of the usual vocational rehabilitation eligibility and referral rules better to accommodate the organization to the job the counselor does. The only rationale I can see for the use of the term 'rehabilitation' is to assume that the damage to the client's personality occurred so very early in life that the counselor has the job of rehabilitating a child. Implicit in this notion is the idea that the client also needs much education and retraining so that inadequate habits of living are replaced by effective ones. I have no suggestion at the moment for a good title for the counselor."

As these comments of Whiting and Swinehart would indicate, the counselor began to see himself as a counselor, a change agent, rather than, as in the regular program, a purchaser of service and a job placement specialist. Consequently, he involved himself in many client problems that VR rarely touches. He worked with the client's family. He taught the client money management and many facts of everyday life in the square world. He encouraged new patterns of leisure activity. He talked clients into moving (geographically) away from old criminal haunts. All this time, the FOR counselors were learning, often by sad experience, that job placement alone did not rehabilitate public offenders. Even appropriate, lucrative employment did not entirely fill the bill. If it had, there would have been little explanation as to why so many FOR clients simply walked away from good jobs and often got arrested.

With each frustrating experience, with each initially inexplicable case failure, the counselors looked anew at those non-vocational facets of their clients' lives which impeded rehabilitation and so increasingly acquainted themselves with the many problems described above. FOR counselors became proficient at these new ways of working with public offenders just as they stopped receiving any significant number of new case assignments, about one and one-half years after the beginning of the program. This change from the counselors' traditional ways-of-work became, finally, what was originally implied by "intensive vocational rehabilitation services;" something rarely found in regular VR programs. But it does not appear that this difference was present throughout the entire experiment.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

We started with two questions: did FOR clients receive regular VR purchased service and/or did they receive "intensive" services? About half did receive purchased services. About a fourth got intensive service if one chooses a definition of intensive that is quantifiable, i.e., high expenditures and multiple services. However, a view of intensive service that is quantifiable ignores many new perspectives on old services that can be construed as intensive. Specifically medical services, training/tools and maintenance were all instrumental in keeping the client in the community, not necessarily as means for correcting a disability and eliminating a vocational handicap. Perhaps this is not so different from what happens in regular VR except in its explicitness. Certainly the regular VR counselor debates whether his role should be that of a purchaser of service or a provider of service. But the FOR counselor was forced by his clientele and the context within which he worked to grope toward a clearer definition of his role. The emergence of a definable role for the correctional rehabilitation counselor came late in FOR, perhaps too late to affect the performance of its clients, but this change was probably the most significant aspect of treatment in the entire program. By the time field activities were terminated, the FOR counselors had ceased to be simply dispatchers to other points for service; they were providers of services themselves.

CHAPTER V "SATURDAY'S CHILD WORKS HARD FOR A LIVING"

Although assignment to the intensive service group was made by random selection rather than through a normal screening process, and despite the imposition of stringent criteria for successful case closure, the rehabilitation rate of experimental clients was considerably higher, at 42 per cent, than had been expected. Another 39 per cent of the experimentals were accepted for service but were closed unsuccessfully, not rehabilitated. In accordance with conjoint decisions rendered by counselors and clients alike, 10 per cent of the experimentals were found to be in no need of VR services. A final 9 per cent of the intensives were never seen by an FOR counselor, either because they could not be located or because sustained efforts for periods of three months or more failed to effect contact.

If both a referral system and feasibility evaluations had been applied to the experimental group, incredibly enough only 30 of the 510 intensive clients who were actually entered into service would have received treatment, and, perhaps even more shocking, only 19 of the 262 rehabilitated clients would have been placed on the active caseload. Another approach to the analysis of case processing under regular service is an examination of those control clients referred to regular VR. Only 8 per cent (50 out of 602) were entered into case service under regular VR programs and of that number, 20 per cent (11 of the 50) were closed rehabilitated, while less than half (24) received purchased services.

CHAPTER V "SATURDAY'S CHILD WORKS HARD FOR A LIVING"

Quite simply, the principle question behind the concept of the FOR Program was: can public offenders be rehabilitated? Can the VR philosophy that developed through service programs for the physically handicapped be adopted to meet the needs of offenders and thereby assist them, too, toward permanent gainful employment? If so, to what extent? Or, in other words, how many of the 623 experimental clients were closed as rehabilitated? The answer to that question should indicate the rehabilitation potential of the federal offender.

We have learned that the offender population is an excellent source of VR clients, a better source perhaps than the mentally and physically handicapped clientele served by regular VR programs.[62] The FOR Program rehabilitated 42 per cent of its total caseload. Of the remaining 58 per cent, 40 per cent were closed not rehabilitated, 9 per cent were found to have "no need" for FOR services and 9 per cent were never contacted by counselors and consequently were not accepted for service.

Since there were clients in the FOR intensive service caseload who exhibited potential for successful rehabilitation, we will, in this chapter, specify what types of clients they were in terms of the social and criminal attributes they brought to the experiment. Rehabilitated types will be separated from the non-rehabilitated types as well as from those who were not accepted for service in the first place. From this information, it is hoped that correctional rehabilitation programs of the future will be able to benefit from the findings of the FOR Program by refining treatment strategies and thereby enhancing the rehabilitation of those kinds of clients with whom FOR failed.

It will also be important to examine judgment (see Chapter III) with reference to client types. It is interesting to speculate on how many clients PO's would refer to VR and how many clients counselors would accept if normal systems of referral were operating.

Finally, once we have specified who was and who was not rehabilitated, we will describe the treatment associated with success as well as that associated with failure.

The FOR closure procedure in general, the project variations from that procedure, and the changes over time in the proportion of the FOR treatment population who were closed rehabilitated will also be described.

TYPES OF CASE CLOSURE

Since the assumptions and operating procedures that concerned client selection and closure were quite different in the FOR experiment than they would be under regular VR programs and since these assumptions and procedures produced the high rehabilitation rate of 42 per cent, these differences must be clarified. Caseloads were randomly assigned to the counselors without reference to VR eligibility requirements and without the usual counselor determination of feasibility. The counselors were expected to work with all the intensive clients assigned to them, whether or not these people were motivated to receive VR services. The national program staff imposed more stringent closure criteria than those imposed by VR in general. These specified certain actions which counselors and clients had to perform before any kind of closure could result; for instance, three months of intermittent effort to locate a client had to elapse before a case could be closed as lost, and a client had to remain employed for six months before he could be closed rehabilitated.[63]

Five primary types of case closure resulted from the changes FOR made in client selection and closure criteria. Obviously clients were still closed "rehabilitated," but we did not want to retain VR's rather simple criteria for determining what constitutes "rehabilitation," so we chose another designation for our successful clients. At first, the term "adjusted" was considered, but then we decided that held connotations about normality and so forth that were not desirable. Eventually the term "adequate social performance" was selected. Over time, the definition behind this term was refined to include not only vocational stability and profit from the service provided, but also stability in other areas such as reaction to stress and prognosis for avoiding further felony convictions.

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[62] See addendum at end of chapter for information on those few control cases who were referred to regular VR.

[63] In contrast, the regular VR program does not specify any time period prior to closure in referred status and counselors are rarely expected to initiate original contact anyway. Then, too, regular VR cases can be closed rehabilitated after 30 days employment, a follow-up period we consider inadequate with reference to public offenders, who usually present a variety of problems, vocational and otherwise, after employment.

Other clients were closed "accepted for service but not rehabilitated." These were called "non-cooperative" cases, and this group probably included some clients the regular VR program would have closed in referred status.

A third group was closed as being in "no need" of service. This group has no counterpart in the regular VR program. Since a decision that any given client was not in need of service was derived cooperatively between the client and his FOR counselor, it may be assumed that these clients really did not need any service. On the other hand, regular VR referred clients who actually make it to an initial interview are presumably motivated toward getting something, whether or not they are eventually evaluated as eligible and feasible.

A fourth group was never seen by the FOR counselors. Part of these people could not be located, and the others could be located, but not contacted for one reason or another. We have labeled these last two groups the unfound and the uncontacted. With the no-needs, they comprised the caseload category of "not accepted for service," while the adequate social performers and the non-cooperatives made up the larger category of "accepted for service."

At this point, three FOR terms need to be defined: "Population" refers to the total number of eligible clients, intensives and controls. "Caseload" refers to the total number of intensive clients. Again, "accepted for service" refers to those clients who were actually entered into treatment and who were eventually closed as either adequate social performers or non-cooperatives.

Once the conditions of six months stable employment and the avoidance of further felony convictions during that period had been met, adequate social performance was assessed on twelve additional points:

1. Is the client making good use of his abilities?
2. Has the client profited from the use of vocational training?
3. Has the client profited from the use of VR services?
4. Has the client profited from other community resources?
5. Is the client making sufficient income to support himself and family without problems?
6. Is the client making sufficient income to support himself and family with some luxuries?
7. Can the client expect advancement on his job?
8. Is the client satisfied with his general status?
9. Is the client reacting well to stress; can he handle anger?
10. Is the client free from reliance on crutches such as alcohol and drugs?
11. Is the client avoiding problems with the law?
12. Is the client a part of his community's activities?

These evaluative items did not all have to be rated positively for rehabilitation, or adequate social performance, to be determined, but their very presence on the FOR closure form must have affected the FOR counselors' assessment of the meaning of rehabilitation.[64]

Practically all (97-98 per cent) of the adequate social performers were scored as having profited from VR services and were expected to have no further difficulties with law enforcement. This state of grace was inherent in the FOR definition of what constituted rehabilitation. Another 79-90 per cent were considered at least better adjusted and doing well on the job. The counselors found that 90 per cent of the adequate social performers reacted well to stress. Almost that number were making good use of their abilities at the point of closure. A somewhat smaller number had no problems with alcohol, were satisfied with their general statuses in life, and were making sufficient income. Approximately 79 per cent could expect job advancement. Some evaluative items were less frequently scored as areas of improvement. These represented a mixture, primarily reflecting degrees of community integration. At least 65 per cent of the rehabilitated clients had profitably used other community services. A somewhat smaller number made sufficient income to afford some luxury items. A smaller number yet participated in "square" community activities.

There was a fair degree of similarity among projects in scoring adequate social performers on these items, but a few projects exhibited unique patterns. One atypical project was Pittsburgh, which rated 98-100 per cent of its rehabilitation cases improved on eight of the twelve items.

Denver A and C scored clients less frequently as improved in the areas of alcohol abuse and the handling of stressful situations. Denver A was particularly noticeable in that sufficient income and the ability to afford luxury items were infrequently scored. Chicago presented no surprise. Job related indices, perhaps less appropriate for female clientele, were not frequently ranked as improved.

In summary, 42 per cent of the FOR intensive caseload were closed rehabilitated, as a result of adequate social performance. This group had been employed for six months. Most of them were considered as having benefited from VR services and had exhibited favorable prognosis for avoiding further trouble with law enforcement; three-fourths or more were better adjusted on and off the job; and one-half to two-thirds were more socially integrated into the community.

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[64] The scores counselor gave clients on these twelve items were analyzed separately. Although a composite score was possible, it was not included in the analysis because project variation in the use of the scoring categories (improvement, no change, decline or not applicable) made the rates variable. Some projects used "no improvement" rather than "not applicable," for example. Since the first was included in the average and the second excluded from the average, projects using "no improvement" would, by definition, have their scores lowered. There was also some variability in non-response totally and across items within projects which cast doubt on the reliability of the responses as coded, not to mention the fact that in some projects more people profited from vocational training than received expenditures under training. The latter was possible to a limited extent since some projects obtained training for their clients without cost to VR, for instance, from MDTA.

Of the total intensive caseload, 40 per cent were closed as "accepted for services but not rehabilitated." These non-cooperative clients were so classified for six different reasons: because the client only felt that he had no need for service (17 per cent); because he would not accept service on the counselor's terms (14 per cent); because he would not accept service on any terms (10 per cent); because, after receiving some service, he returned to jail for the duration of the project (31 per cent); or for other unspecified, unclassified and unknown reason (29 per cent).

When we examined the use of these reasons within projects, we found that re-incarceration was the most common in San Antonio, representing 70 per cent of all non-cooperative closures, as opposed to 31 per cent in the total group and only 13 and 17 per cent in Denver A and Chicago, respectively. The other and unknown categories, usually reflecting loss of contact when clients took off for parts unknown, appeared a disproportionate amount in Denver C and Atlanta C, approximately 60 per cent of all non-cooperative closures as opposed to the average of 29 per cent. As for the other categories, having to do with the client's perception of his need or willingness to accept service, cases were closed in opposition to the counselor's perception of need more frequently in Seattle A and Chicago, approximately 40 per cent in both units, as compared to the average of 17 per cent. This category was used only once in Denver A, not at all in Pittsburgh and the C projects. Clients unwilling to accept services on the counselor's terms turned up more frequently in Denver A, Springfield and Pittsburgh, where the percentages were 30 per cent, 43 per cent and 30 per cent respectively, as compared to the average of 14 per cent. This category was never employed in Atlanta A, Denver C, and Atlanta C. Clients who were unwilling to accept service on any terms were distributed proportionately among projects.

In summary, 40 per cent of the FOR intensive service caseload was closed in the non-cooperative category. About 12 per cent of the caseload was placed in this category due to re-incarceration. Since many of these men were still in prison when FOR went out of business, some of them may still be rehabilitated by somebody else. But another 16 per cent of the caseload probably would never be accepted by the regular VR program for the simple reason that these people remained unconvinced that service would be of any value to them. Finally, 11 per cent of the intensive clients were labeled non-cooperative because they vanished in mid-service and could not be found again.

Of the total caseload, 82 per cent were accepted for service and only 18 per cent were "not accepted." Half of those "not accepted" were determined to have no need for VR services right at the beginning, and the others were just never found and/or contacted.

TABLE V.1. – PROJECT DISTRIBUTION OF CLOSURE CATEGORIES – INTENSIVE CLIENTS

	NOT ACCEPTED FOR SERVICE				ACCEPTED FOR SERVICE			
PROJECT	Can't Find	Can't Contact	No Need	Subtotal	Noncooperative	Adequate Social Performance	Subtotal	TOTAL
A								
Atlanta	1.6	13.1	11.5	26.2	36.1	37.7	73.8	
	1	8	7	16	22	23	45	61
Chicago	7.8	7.8	7.8	23.5	37.3	39.2	76.5	
	4	4	4	12	19	20	39	51
Denver	1.4	1.4	8.2	11.0	41.1	47.9	89.0	
	1	1	6	8	30	35	65	73
Seattle	3.7	5.0	12.5	21.2	48.7	30.0	78.8	
	3	4	10	17	39	24	63	80
Tampa	6.8	12.3	17.8	37.0	41.1	21.9	63.0	
	5	9	13	27	30	16	46	73
B								
Pittsburgh	0.0	1.9	1.9	3.7	22.2	74.1	96.3	
	0	1	1	2	12	40	52	54
San Antonio	3.2	0.0	0.0	3.2	42.9	54.0	96.8	
	2	0	0	2	27	34	61	63
Springfield	2.8	11.1	22.2	36.1	31.9	31.9	63.9	
	2	8	16	26	23	23	46	72
C								
Atlanta	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	48.8	51.2	100.0	
	0	0	0	0	21	22	43	43
Denver	0.0	5.9	0.0	5.9	58.8	35.3	94.1	
	0	1	0	1	10	6	16	17
Seattle	2.8	0.0	2.8	5.6	36.1	58.3	94.4	
	1	0	1	2	13	21	34	36
TOTAL	3.0	5.8	9.3	18.1	39.5	42.4	81.9	
	19	36	58	113	246	264	510	623

In the group not accepted for service, some cases were not accepted for service because it was believed that no need existed in the first place, which implies a negative counselor judgment. This was a belief that program found difficult to share. Since the program office in Seattle was extremely reluctant to admit that such a thing as a no-need case existed, a fine distinction between types of no-needs should be clarified. As noted above, some non-cooperatives were closed as no-needs, but these closures were determined by client decision alone, against counselor judgment. In other words, non-cooperative cases were initially accepted for service, but eventually closed non-cooperative for a variety of reasons, one of them being unwillingness on the part of the client to continue his rehabilitation program. National staff took no exception to closures of this type, but we are now discussing cases that were not accepted for service in the first place. A compromise finally was reached. It was agreed that if a counselor and his client put up with each other for a period of three months or more and both together held the opinion that no need existed, then a case could be closed accordingly. It might be noted that such occasions were usually preceeded by several hours of diagnostic counseling, plus evaluative testing when appropriate.

Counselors varied in their decisions to close no-need cases, probably in large part due to their individual frames of reference, that is, whether these clients were seen as having only vocational needs or less easily identifiable problems. It also seems quite possible that those projects which were required to obtain general medicals before purchasing further service might have been influenced by this limitation to place large numbers of people in the no-need category.

The other group of not-accepted clients presents some problems. Two sub-categories formed this group of clients who were never contacted, those who could not be found and those who could be located but were not contacted for ill-defined reasons. Attempting to assess the thought behind case closure in the second sub-category represented one of the shady, less precise areas in the FOR study. Some counselors actively, although vainly, sought out and tried to sell these clients on the program; others took a more traditional VR attitude, that a client must make the first overture after being informed of his opportunity to receive service. We could not distinguish among counselors on these approaches, nor could we be sure of the uniform use of one or the other. Consequently, we did not know whether some other clients who might have been candidates for these two groups nevertheless got into the accepted category simply because their counselors were vigorous, and, if they were entered into treatment, whether they increased or decreased the rate of rehabilitation. Nor did we know if their absence from the accepted group affected that group's rehabilitation rate. It is possible that if these two groups represented clients with negative prognoses, their presence in the treated group might have lowered the success rate, or if their prognoses were positive their presence might have enhanced the success rate. Since projects handled their cases differently, we are not sure of the overlap in these areas. It was true that the FOR philosophy was, and is, that offender clients must be engaged in treatment, even if all the initial motivation toward doing so had to come from the counselor; but we could not test whether this happened or not since we did not know whether the group who was never contacted in fact represented true unreachables.

Regardless of the above problems, we do believe we discovered some of the reasons why cases fell into these categories. For one, in the highly mobile federal offender population a certain percentage of FOR clients legitimately could not be found. If a potential client had not been met at the probation office or institution and had no valid address, to the knowledge of the local police, the probation officer or the counselor, then he could be closed under our criteria as a case which the counselor was unable to locate. That a client could be so out of touch with his local probation/parole office, that he was never located by the counselor, may seem a bit astonishing, but this could have occurred legitimately in several ways. For example, a mandatory releasee without supervision or even one of those with supervision may have reported to his probation officer only once or twice before fulfilling his legal obligation. A mandatory releasee might have said that he was returning to such and such a city, went back there indeed to look up his relatives, and then drifted on in a few days. Transfer to another district represented a second possibility. This could have occurred as a result of sentencing procedure and was sometimes the case when a man was convicted in a federal district of which he was not normally a resident; he simply happened to have been arrested there as he was passing through. Later, upon discharge from prison, if he had managed to secure authorization for transfer of his release supervision to his home district, and if that district were not represented by an FOR project, obvious contact problems existed. In fact, without the cooperation of the new supervising district, a valid address was impossible to obtain.

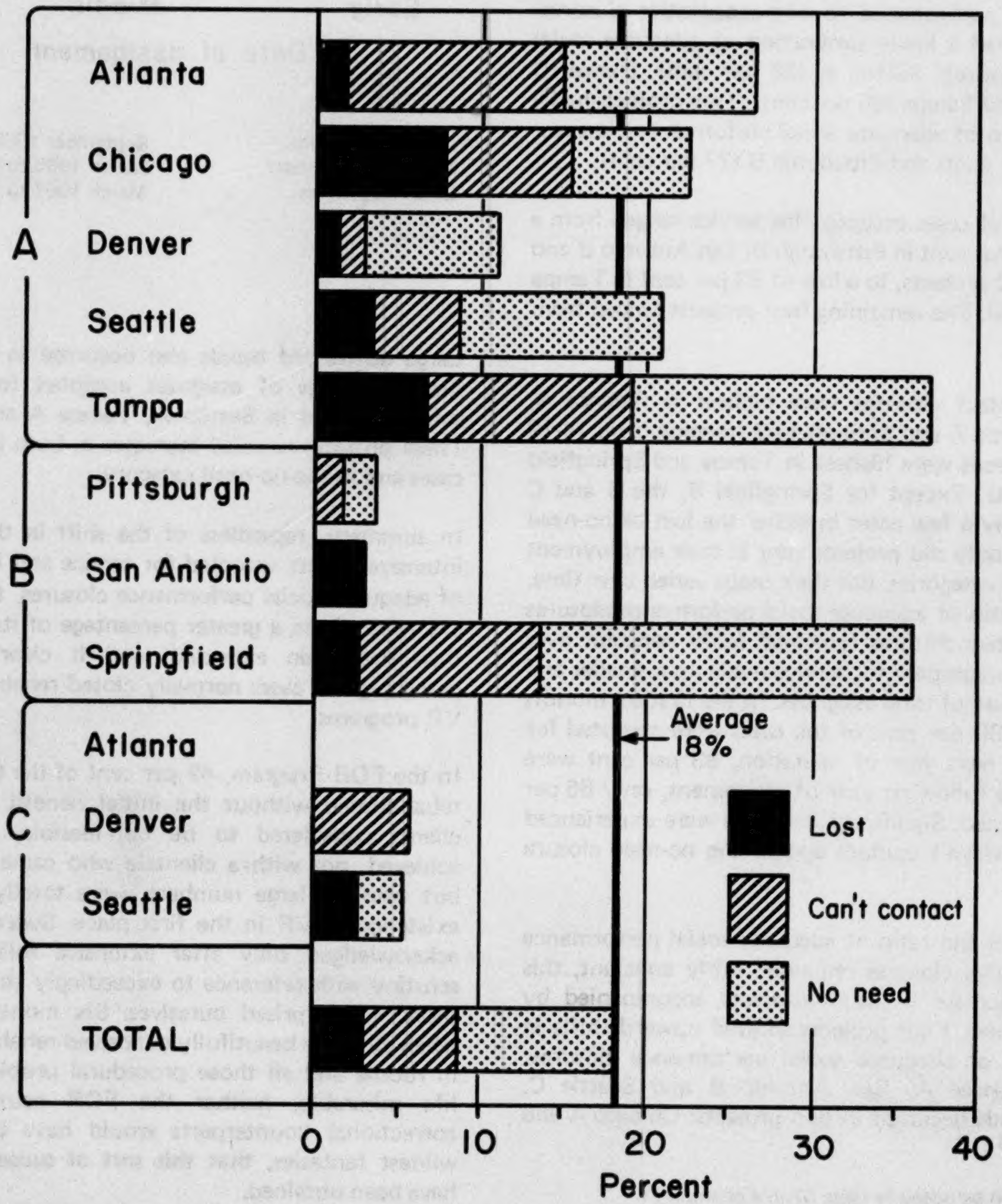
It was even possible for men to be highly mobile within their own neighborhoods. Although they might have reported regularly to their probation officers, they might never have seen their counselors at the same time, and perhaps they never really lived at the last address given in their monthly reports. Of course, some of these people were without permanent known addresses for no legitimate reasons; in such cases, they could have jumped release or probationary supervision or it is possible that they simply did not want local police to know where they could be found for one of a number of reasons. The ability to vanish in a relatively small neighborhood was often enhanced by acquaintances who closed ranks against the "squares" (any unknown who asked questions) and feigned no knowledge of the elusive potential clients. Even one of the FOR case aides, who was hired for his ability to penetrate this wall, often found it next to impossible to locate a man who did not want to be located.

Clients who could not be found were obviously not told about the FOR Program. They represented 3 per cent of the total potential caseload, and we could not determine exactly how many of these 15 men and 4 women were lost for what reasons. We had originally expected that the Plan B projects, who delayed contacting clients for 60-90 days by design, would have a greater number in the lost category. However, lost cases were no more greatly represented in the Plan B projects than they were in any other.

In the second group of non-contacted cases, the counselors did, in fact, know where these clients were, but were never able to contact them personally, face to face. For example, the counselor might have had a valid address, might have written, phoned and/or stopped to see the client, but he failed to write back or was never at home and consequently was not contacted.

Two of the thirty-six non-contacted clients who were assigned to the Plan B projects were given long-term sentences under new charges before the counselors under Plan B limits could try to establish contact and begin treatment and, if released prior to the expiration of the FOR program, never returned to the project areas. Six other Plan B assignees, who were removed from the analysis, were also reincarcerated during this lag, but were eventually seen by the counselor. Two received purchased service in addition to counseling. All six were eventually closed non-cooperative. This was a much smaller number than we had originally expected. There was another small group in here that left the FOR area soon after sentencing and release, sometimes as a condition of sentencing, to parts of the country known to their counselors, but we could not determine exactly how many of these fell into that category. This group, like the last, had little if any information about the FOR program. These people may have had some preliminary information from a letter or perhaps from a conversation with their probation officers, but that was all. It might be said of the members of this group that they declined the opportunity to receive FOR services by failure to respond to letters from counselors or to suggestions by probation officers. Small in number, they represented only 6 per cent of the population.

FIGURE V.1. – REASONS GIVEN FOR NOT ACCEPTING CLIENTS FOR SERVICE
(Project By Project Comparison)



In summary, the clients who were never found and the ones who were never contacted, plus the no-needs composed the not-accepted-for-service group, which constituted 18 per cent of the total intensive service caseload. The remaining 82 per cent of the caseload went into accepted status. Of the total group, 42 per cent were closed rehabilitated, due to adequate social performance, and 40 per cent were closed not rehabilitated as non-cooperative. Any attempt to translate these figures into regular VR program terms would have to take into account the changes FOR initiated in case work procedure: 1) clients were automatically eligible and feasible; 2) FOR counselors were expected to supply or promote initial motivation toward receiving services; and 3) closure criteria were stringent.

Just as operational procedures varied from project to project, the ratios of the use of one closure category to another were not uniform. These variations not only reflected greater or lesser adherence to FOR procedure but also differences in project clientele. Here we will only report the variations while some of the possible reasons for the differences will be presented later in descriptions of client background and of services provided.

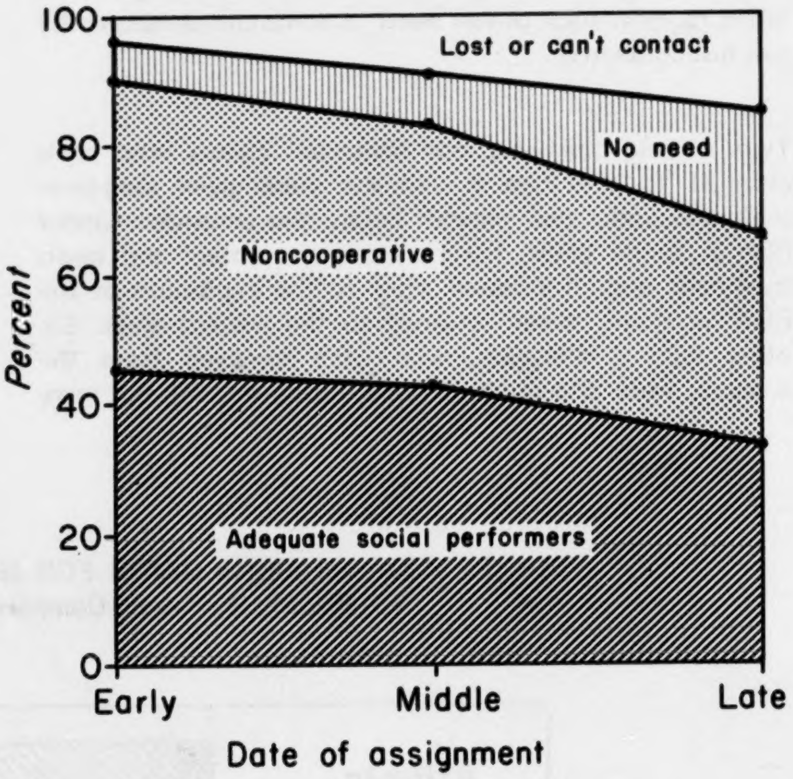
Six out of eleven projects had almost a fifty-fifty ratio of adequate social performance to non-cooperative closures. Three projects had a lower proportion of adequate social performance closures: Seattle A (38 per cent), Denver C (38 per cent), and Tampa (35 per cent). Two projects had a higher proportion of adequate social performance closures: Seattle C (62 per cent) and Pittsburgh B (77 per cent).

The proportion of cases accepted for service ranged from a high of 94-100 per cent in Pittsburgh B, San Antonio B and all three of the C projects, to a low of 63 per cent in Tampa A and Springfield. The remaining four projects ranged from 75-85 per cent.

Lost or no-contact closures were highest in Atlanta A, Chicago A, Tampa A and Springfield B (ranging from 14-19 per cent). No-needs were highest in Tampa and Springfield (18-22 per cent). Except for Springfield B, the B and C projects had only a few cases in either the lost or no-need categories. Not only did projects vary in their employment of these closure categories, but their usage varied over time. Although the ratio of adequate social performance closures to non-cooperative closures remained fairly constant over time, those cases accepted for service made up a smaller and smaller proportion of total assignees. In the first six months of assignment, 89 per cent of the cases were accepted for service. In the next year of operation, 83 per cent were accepted. In the following year of assignment, only 66 per cent were accepted. Significant increases were experienced in both the lost/can't contact and in the no-need closure categories.

Although overall the ratio of adequate social performance to non-cooperative closures remained fairly constant, this reflected an increase in some projects accompanied by decreases in others. Four projects showed upward shifts in the percentage of adequate social performance closures: Atlanta A, Denver A, San Antonio B and Seattle C. Downward trends occurred in two projects: Chicago A and Springfield B.[65]

FIGURE V.2.–CHANGES OVER TIME IN THE DISTRIBUTION AMONG CLOSURE CATEGORIES*



*Early Assignment:	September 1965 to February 1966
Middle Assignment:	March 1966 to February 1967
Late Assignment:	March 1967 to February 1968

Large downward trends also occurred in three projects in the percentage of assignees accepted for service. These shifts occurred in Seattle A, Tampa A and Springfield B. These projects revealed increases in both lost/can't contact cases and in the no-need category.

In summary, regardless of the shift in the proportion of intensive clients accepted for service and in the proportion of adequate social performance closures, the FOR Program did rehabilitate a greater percentage of its offender clients than had been expected, and it clearly exceeded the percentage of cases normally closed rehabilitated in regular VR programs.

In the FOR Program, 42 per cent of the total caseload was rehabilitated without the initial benefit of screening out clients considered to be non-feasible. This record was achieved, not with a clientele who came seeking services, but who, in large numbers, were totally unaware of the existence of VR in the first place. Successful closure was acknowledged only after extensive follow-up and close scrutiny with reference to exceedingly stringent criteria. In short, we surprised ourselves. Six months after Chicago, when all those beautifully conceived rehabilitation plans lay in rubble and all those procedural problems were making life miserable, neither the FOR counselors nor their correctional counterparts would have believed, in their wildest fantasies, that this sort of success could possibly have been obtained.

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[65] Lesser shifts can be noted in table 57 in Appendix F.

CLIENT CHARACTERISTICS

Some of this success was probably due to the kinds of clients who were accepted for service and subsequently closed rehabilitated. Certainly clients brought different kinds of criminal and social attributes to the FOR experiment; the particular mix of these elements set certain limits on the chances for rehabilitation. As a matter of fact, the adequate social performers were the clients one would normally expect to have had the most positive prognoses. They were somewhat less likely to have had prior commitments, somewhat less likely to have accumulated multiple arrests and somewhat more likely to have been married. But these contrasts between the total population and the adequate social performers were not nearly as striking as the contrast between the adequate social performers and the other group who actually received FOR services: the non-cooperatives. Consistently, the adequate social performers represented those cases most likely to succeed, with the non-cooperatives least likely to.

Fewer of the non-cooperatives had no prior commitments. A larger number of them had records of many arrests and, as well, many commitments. Although non-cooperatives were no different from the rest of the population in terms of age or race, they were somewhat more poorly educated. There were slightly more narcotics users in the non-cooperative population than the general population, the same being true of alcoholics. While it would appear that the non-cooperatives exhibited more negative prognoses than the total population and certainly more so than the adequate social performers, they did not present the worst prognoses of all. The small group who disappeared held that distinction; they had an even greater percentage of multiple prior arrests than the non-cooperatives. Mandatory releasees, with or without supervision, were expected to and did appear most often in the lost contact category. Since there were only nineteen lost cases altogether this was too small a group to provide validation of the original assumption that we would lose more mandatory releasees than other kinds of clients. Actually the nine mandatory releasees we did lose constituted only about 8 per cent (9 out of 114) of the total mandatory releasees in the caseload.

The no-contact clients were so much like the non-cooperatives that they merit no particular discussion. However, one fine distinction should be noted. The lost-contact group, in fact, represented non-cooperatives who had been accepted for service but who did not pursue their rehabilitation programs, whereas the no-contact clients were never accepted for service simply because they could not be found in the first place.

However, the no-needs were quite different from the rest. These cases more often than not were probationers (67 per cent of them). They were more likely not to have had a prior commitment (74 per cent), and they were somewhat better educated, larger numbers of them having completed high school (46 per cent). In other respects, they were no different from the total population.

In short, across projects it seemed safe to assume that the no-needs were the best prospects for community stability, good enough to make it on their own. Adequate social performers were next best prospects, that is, with some help from FOR. The non-cooperatives with the no-contracts made up the poor risks. But the lost were even worse prospects and they could not be located.

One should remember, though, that each of these closure categories contained extremes, cases with very good prognoses and cases with very poor prognoses, and that the material we have summarized here referred to the norm for any given category. In other words, not all cases with poor prognoses were not rehabilitated and not all cases with good prognóses were successful.

SIMULATION OF REFERRAL AND FEASIBILITY

One cannot help but wonder what might have happened if a normal referral system had been operative in the FOR Program, or if non-feasibility had been maintained as an eliminating factor. Would some cases have been denied any chance at all for rehabilitation? We now have some reason to believe that PO's would refer those clients whom they think would fail under supervision. If we can assume that a PO's negative judgment on any given client's chances for successful completion of supervision would have led the PO to make a referral to VR, then we have a method for assessing how a normal referral system would work. We can determine if a client on whom the PO made a negative judgment were accepted for service and if he were closed as rehabilitated.

As for the use of feasibility judgments, if the counselors had been permitted to retain the prerogative of case selection and if they had been presented with the total caseload without screening and referral by the PO's, would the clients determined feasible have been accepted for service and closed rehabilitated? Assessment of this option is more clear-cut since VRO judgment was based on the client's estimated ability to profit from VR services, hence a positive judgment by the VRO is analogous to a determination that a client is feasible.

Of course in reality referral and feasibility operate jointly. By separating out those clients judged negatively by the PO and positively by the VRO, a group of clients similar to those who might appear under the joint occurrence of referral and feasibility can be examined as to acceptance and rehabilitation rates.

By using judgment then, we can simulate: 1) the operation of referral without feasibility; 2) the operation of feasibility without referral; and 3) the operation of referral and feasibility together.

During FOR, 82 per cent of the potential clients were accepted for service and 42 per cent of the potential clients were rehabilitated. If only those clients judged negatively by the PO had been potential clients, i.e., as with referral, then 88 per cent would have been accepted for service and 36 per cent rehabilitated. In other words, referral would have increased the percentage accepted and decreased the percentage rehabilitated. If only those judged positively by the VRO had been potential clients, i.e., as with the use of feasibility, then 87 per cent would have been accepted for service and 52 per cent rehabilitated; that is, feasibility would also have increased acceptances but in addition, it would have increased rehabilitations. If only those judged negatively by the PO and positively by the VRO had been potential clients, i.e., with the joint operation of referral and feasibility, all but one client would have been accepted for service, a considerable gain in the percentage accepted, and 61 per cent would have been rehabilitated, almost 20 per cent more than was the case in FOR.

What is missing in this apparent support for the reinstatement of referral and feasibility is information concerning the large number of clients who were in fact accepted and rehabilitated in FOR and who would never have been if referral and feasibility had been operating.

Almost unbelievably, with the joint use of referral and feasibility, only 19 of the 264 (7 per cent) adequate social performers would have made it onto the active caseload and only 30 of the 510 (6 per cent) who were accepted for service would have made it into treatment. With referral alone, only 37 of the 264 (14 per cent) rehabilitants would have appeared in the caseload and only 91 of the 510 (18 per cent) who were accepted for service would have been. With feasibility alone, 155 of the 264 (59 per cent) rehabilitants would have appeared and 257 of the 510 (50 per cent) who were accepted for service. Therefore, it seems only fair to say that referral systems and feasibility evaluations leave something to be desired. They are simply not efficient methods for choosing clients most in need or most likely to benefit from services.[66]

All of the above content on referrals and feasibility, which should be given serious consideration by VR personnel, still does not complete the picture of the FOR rehabilitation process. One should also be aware of the kinds of treatment associated with the types of closure. For example, one should know what was done to determine which potential clients really did not need VR services. Also, services associated with success should be distinguished from those associated with failure.

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES PROVIDED

The bulk of the no-need cases were so classified on the basis of a couple of interviews. Only 9 of the 58 no-need cases received purchased diagnostics and only one of these was given more than $50 worth. As far as time is concerned, the majority of these cases got less than five hours of evaluative counseling, although a few were extended much more than that.

It should be remembered that in one circumstance FOR differed sharply from the usual VR situation. Most no-need clients would not have initiated any contact under the regular program, but in FOR they had to participate in the decision that they did not need service. In the FOR Program, since most of them were either prisoners or under release supervision, they had little choice but to hear the counselors out. Ironically, if a no-need decided to buy a counselor's pitch and take advantage of all the goodies, and if regular VR acceptance criteria had then prevailed, he probably would have been forthwith rejected as unable to meet eligibility requirements. In the FOR Program, since no-needs had to reject services themselves, the opportunities for purchasing diagnostic services were greatly reduced. Then, too, since they had to convince the counselors (who were determined to serve any intensive assignee) that they would not need services, most of the no-needs must have been fairly articulate—and adroit at shortening interviews. (The research staff wondered if some of the non-cooperatives were much like the no-needs, only a little more abrasive in their rejections.)

The upshot of all this was it did not take counselors very long to make closure decisions in no-need cases.

As indicated in Chapter IV, treatment can be assessed by examining the following: 1) the four kinds of purchased service, diagnostics, medical, training and maintenance; 2) the occurrence of intensive service; 3) the number of counseling hours; and 4) length of service. That format will be followed here.

In each of these areas, the adequate social performers came out ahead of the non-cooperatives. It was impossible to tell whether the non-cooperatives received less service and hence failed or whether they failed and hence received less service. We do not know the effects of service on closure with reference to the non-cooperatives. Clients in this category who did not want service received little or none. The reincarcerated non-cooperative received considerably more service than the average man in this category. The number of non-cooperatives who received intensive service was low, but we did not cross-classify service received in detail with our various dropout forms, only against total cost of service. Therefore, we can only make this broad assumption: that all non-cooperative clients, for whatever reason, did not receive full service treatment, and hence, the non-cooperatives were lower in terms of services received than the total group of served clients.

Of those accepted for service, 57 per cent received purchased diagnostics, and 18 per cent went no further into treatment. Approximately 37 per cent of the non-cooperatives got diagnostics, but 33 per cent received nothing more. The reverse was the case with the adequate social performers, 77 per cent received diagnostics, while only 12 per cent of this group did not proceed into treatment.

In most of the FOR projects, clients could receive other purchased services without diagnostics (see Chapter IV). This was true of 25 per cent of those accepted for service. It was also true for 39 per cent of the non-cooperative clients, but only 19 per cent of the adequate social performers received purchased service without diagnostics.

Medical services were provided for only a few clients at minimal cost. A fourth of all clients accepted for service received medical assistance of some nature, and only 5 per cent required hospitalization. Non-cooperative clients were under-represented in the medical service group. Only 15 per cent (36) of the 246 non-cooperatives fell into this

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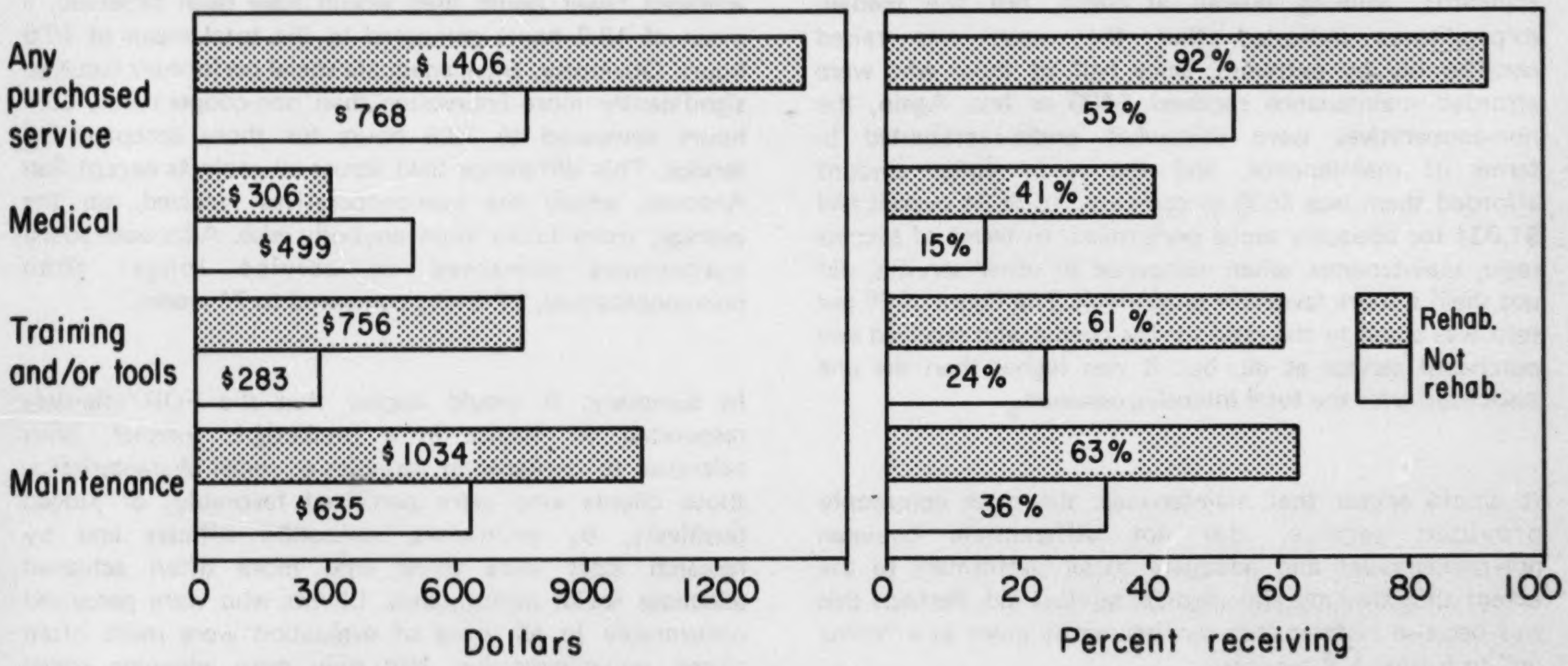
[66] See Brewer report for similar comments, Brewer, *op. cit.*

FIGURE V.3. – AVERAGE COST AND PROPORTION OF CLIENTS RECEIVING PURCHASED SERVICE: COMPARISON BETWEEN REHABILITATED AND NOT-REHABILITATED CLIENTS



treatment category, compared to 28 per cent (143) out of the total 510 cases accepted for service.

Since medical services required a substantial degree of cooperation on the part of the clients who received them, particularly since they had to undergo diagnostics, it might be assumed that the non-cooperative clients resisted participation in medical programs just as they resisted general participation.

Incongruously, the mean expenditure for medical services was higher with non-cooperatives ($499) than for adequate social performers ($306). However, this difference was not consistent throughout all projects. The significant factor appeared to be several very high medical expenditures for non-cooperative cases in a few selected projects. It was true, though, that within projects those clients who did receive medical services had a higher proportion of successful closures (75 per cent) than did accepted clients as a whole (52 per cent) and had the same proportion as those who received any purchased service at all (65 per cent).

It would appear that if a client were somehow sufficiently engaged in a treatment program to undergo some form of medical service he would very likely be a successful case. It should be remembered that most medical expenditures were for either inter-current illness or psychotherapy, two forms of treatment that indicate participation in an active program of rehabilitation.

Expenditures for training and/or tools went to 44 per cent of all those accepted for service, with means for the total around $628, considerably higher than the medical means. Again, the non-cooperatives were under-represented in the training and/or tools category. Only 60 of them got training and/or tools as compared to 222 of the total 510 accepted cases.

In fact, persons who received training and/or tools had a slightly higher rate of successful closures than those who received any purchased service at all, but the difference amounted to only 4 per cent (73 per cent as opposed to 69 per cent). This rate however, was obtained from an average of two major sub-categories of service combinations. If training and tools are viewed separately, training alone accounted for 133 of the 162 adequate social performers and 48 of the 60 non-cooperatives, for a success rate only slightly higher than 73 per cent for all those who received service in this service combination category.

The mean expenditure was $628 for all who received training/tools, for non-cooperatives, $283 and for adequate social performers, much higher at $756, a $473 difference. A similar difference exists for training alone, where the mean for adequate social performers was $668, while for non-cooperatives the mean was $252, a $416 difference.

When projects were examined individually, mean dollar expenditures for training/tools were considerably higher for adequate social performers in all projects except Chicago and San Antonio. Some of these differences between adequate social performer and non-cooperative means were extreme: $950 in Tampa; $996 in Pittsburgh; $731 in Seattle C; $589 in Denver; $539 in Atlanta C; $516 in Springfield; $455 in Denver A; $297 in Atlanta A; and $268 in Seattle A. These kinds of differences held when training only was considered. Again, Chicago and San Antonio produced no difference between non-cooperatives and adequate social performers. Some of the other projects were quite startling in contrast, and three of them did not provide any training for non-cooperatives at all, Atlanta A, Atlanta C and Pittsburgh. It was obviously difficult to interest some clients in training or to keep them there if they did begin it. An unanswered question remains: "Why?"

As previously indicated in Chapter IV maintenance was the most commonly provided purchased service, going to 50 per cent of those accepted for service. The mean expenditures were very high according to regular VR standards, running overall at $894, but the median expenditures indicated that the mean was raised considerably by extremes, since half of those who were afforded maintenance received $400 or less. Again, the non-cooperatives were somewhat under-represented in terms of maintenance, and the mean dollar amount afforded them was $635 as compared to $894 overall and $1,034 for adequate social performers. In terms of success ratio, maintenance, when compared to other services, did not yield a more favorable proportion. The figure of 65 per cent was equal to the ratio for the clients who received any purchased service at all, but it was higher than the one associated with the total intensive caseload.

It would appear that maintenance, the most commonly provided service, did not differentiate between non-cooperatives and adequate social performers to the extent that training and medical services did. Perhaps this was because maintenance was frequently given as a "come on" to further VR services.

Certain combinations of service were common, particularly maintenance and training and/or tools, and maintenance and training and/or tools plus medical. When all three services were combined, adequate social performers represented 78 per cent of this service combination. Projects varied considerably in relationship to the use of multiple service and the success rate achieved with multiple service combinations. Combinations of service, though, really represented a lead-in to the difference between regular service and intensive service. We chose to differentiate between the two in terms of dollar amounts expended. Regular service amounted to anything less than $800, and about half the time this meant that only a single purchased service had been provided. Intensive service was indicated when a client received more than $800, and this usually implied multiple purchased services. The non-cooperative cases were under-represented in the intensive service category and over-represented in the regular service category, but not to a large extent. In terms of receiving any purchased service at all, the non-cooperatives represented 35 per cent of the purchased service group and adequate social performers represented 65 per cent. When purchased service is divided into regular service and intensive service, the non-cooperatives are over-represented in the regular service group (44 per cent) and the adequate social performers under-represented (55 per cent). As for intensive service non-cooperatives are under-represented (24 per cent) and the adequate social performers over-represented (76 per cent). This was a great deal like the differences found when the criminal and social characteristics of adequate social performers and non-cooperatives were examined. They were actually moving in two different directions, neither one of them too far from average, but quite a distance from each other.

Two other facets of treatment were counseling and length of service. The non-cooperatives received counseling in the same proportion as did the total caseload. In effect, 100 per cent of them received some counseling, since by our definition, no one could be closed non-cooperative without receiving some counseling after the initial contact, but they averaged fewer hours than would have been expected, a mean of 13.2 hours compared to the total mean of 18.6 hours. Obviously, then, adequate social performers received significantly more counseling than non-cooperatives, 23.7 hours compared to 18.6 hours for those accepted for service. This difference held across all projects except San Antonio, where the non-cooperatives received, on the average, more hours than anybody else. Adequate social performers remained in service longer than non-cooperatives, 92 weeks compared to 71 weeks.

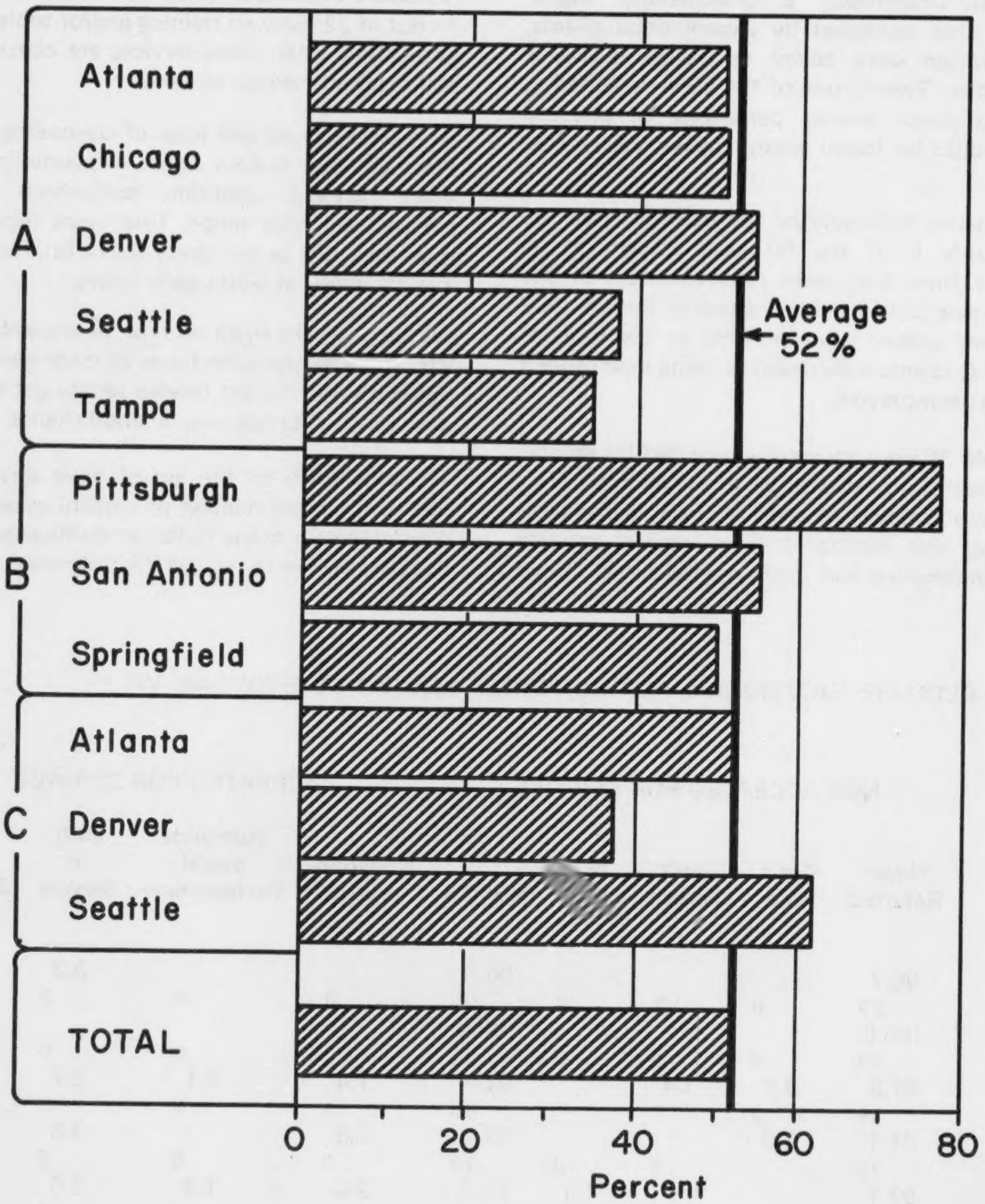
In summary, it would appear that the FOR clientele responded to service in a predictable manner. With reference to background variables or social characteristics, those clients who were perceived favorably, or judged positively, by counselors, probation officers and by research staff were those who more often achieved adequate social performance. Clients who were perceived unfavorably in all areas of evaluation were more often closed non-cooperative. Not only were adequate social performers perceived more favorably in the beginning, but they eventually received more service in any, or all, categories, whereas the non-cooperatives received less service.

The question, of course, remains: did treatment produce adequate social performance or were adequate social performers already motivated to seize the advantage of treatment? Or to put it another way, did non-cooperatives fail in spite of their lack of treatment, or did the treatment they received cause them to fail?

Of course the possibility of self-fulfilling prophesy enters into all this. It may have been that the counselors sorted out the clients who presented characteristics which would optimize success and then concentrated their treatment efforts upon this group, which further enhanced success. There was also the quite real possibility that the treatment techniques available, at least through the major portion of the FOR experiment, were not well adapted to those clients most resistant to treatment and who, consequently, were closed as non-cooperative.

In effect, this chapter can do little more than say that the rehabilitation rate in the FOR Program was considerably higher than expected. There is, obviously, a group of clients who can benefit from VR services and who are well worth VR's investment; whether or not this investment should emphasize the goal of vocational stability or that of a reduction in recidivism remains an open question. In reality, it may not matter which is chosen. There are those who say that rehabilitated people rehabilitate themselves, that vocational rehabilitation only enhances the process and improves upon the results in a relative manner. Is that enough? We think that it is more than enough. After all, it may have been the very substance of the FOR experiment.

FIGURE V.4. – PERCENTAGE OF ACCEPTED CLIENTS WHO WERE REHABILITATED (Project By Project Comparison)



ADDENDUM

Of the 602 control group I cases surveyed by the FOR Program, only 50 clients were referred to regular VR agencies. Of that number, 8 who were never seen by a counselor or apparently seen only briefly, were closed in categories comparable to the "lost" and "no contact" categories employed by the FOR study. Three were declared to have no need for regular VR services. The remaining 39 cases fell into these categories: 14 considered for service were closed as non-cooperative in our terms (the non-cooperative category probably denotes people who in regular VR were closed from referral as well as some who were closed after rehabilitation plans had been developed, but who did not produce success); 11 were closed as rehabilitated and 14 were still receiving service at the time FOR went out of business. Since such a small number of clients actually received VR services, other than diagnostics, we examined the whole referred group together.

examined the whole referred group together.

Most of the referrals were simply coded as public offenders or as clients with mental disabilities such as character disorder or neurosis. Twenty-one of the fifty were coded as having physical disabilities, a considerably higher proportion than that exhibited by experimental clients, almost all of whom were coded as having character disorder or neurosis. Twenty-one of the 50 were coded as still represents a much smaller percentage of physical disability than would be found among regular VR clients.

Another circumstance distinguished the controls from the experimentals. Only 8 of the 50 were known to be employed at the time they were referred. Most of the experimentals, unless picked before release or immediately after release from prison, were working at the time of assignment (Plan C clients were coded as being incarcerated rather than being unemployed).

Of the 50 referrals, 39 were apparently accepted for service. Services were actually provided to 22 of the referrals. Over 40 per cent of this (9 cases) received training and/or tools and maintenance, and another 4 cases received training and/or tools, maintenance and medical services. It should be remembered that these categories were common among the services received by experimental cases. In similar fashion, the highest proportion of referrals (17 out of 22) received maintenance when services were considered singly; 14 out of 22 received training and/or tools, the next highest proportion when these services are considered singly; and half received medical services.

Only 20 received one hour of counseling or more. Half of them got one to four hours of counseling and the rest of them received attention somewhere in the five to twenty-four hour range. Two cases received more hours than that, one in the thirty-thirty four hour range and one was counseled at least eighty hours.

Although a very small number of controls were referred to VR, and although even fewer of these were placed on active status, those who did receive service got approximately the same kinds afforded experimental clients.

The rank order of the use of these services was the same due to the small number of control cases receiving service. We did not examine dollar amounts expended assuming it was comparable to regular VR programs.

TABLE V.2. – CLOSURE CATEGORIES FOR CONTROLS SERVED BY REGULAR VR

	NOT ACCEPTED FOR SERVICE					ACCEPTED FOR SERVICE				
PROJECT	Never Referred	Can't Find	Can't Contact	No Need	Subtotal	Noncooperative	Adequate Social Performance	Skill in Service	Subtotal	TOTAL
A										
Atlanta	96.7				96.7			3.3	3.3	
	59	0	0	0	59	0	0	2	2	61
Chicago	100.0				100.0					
	33	0	0	0	33	0	0	0	0	33
Denver	87.8	2.7	1.4		91.9	1.4	4.1	2.7	8.1	
	65	2	1	0	68	1	3	2	6	74
Seattle	91.1	1.3			92.4	3.8		3.8	7.6	
	72	1	0	0	73	3	0	3	6	79
Tampa	92.1			1.3	93.4	2.6	1.3	2.6	6.6	
	70	0	0	1	71	2	1	2	5	76
B										
Pittsburgh	98.2				98.2			1.8	1.8	
	55	0	0	0	55	0	0	1	1	56
San Antonio	93.7			1.6	95.2	3.2		1.6	4.8	
	59	0	0	1	60	2	0	1	3	63
Springfield	94.7				94.7		4.0	1.3	5.3	
	71	0	0	0	71	0	3	1	4	75
C										
Atlanta	74.4		7.7	2.6	84.6	7.7	5.1	2.6	15.4	
	29	0	3	1	33	3	2	1	6	39
Denver	80.0				80.0	13.3	6.7		20.0	
	12	0	0	0	12	2	1	0	3	15
Seattle	87.1	3.2			90.3	3.2	3.2	3.2	9.7	
	27	1	0	0	28	1	1	1	3	31
TOTAL	91.7	0.7	0.7	0.5	93.5	2.3	1.8	2.3	6.5	
	552	4	4	3	563	14	11	14	39	602

*The regular VR counselors who filled out forms on control clients were asked to use FOR designations for closure categories. Hence, it is probable that some clients closed "noncooperative" were not actually "accepted for service" under regular VR designations.

CHAPTER VI REFLECTIONS IN A GIMLET EYE

Although the last chapter indicated that a substantial percentage of a public offender clientele can be closed in rehabilitated status, it did not define the impact of vocational rehabilitation services beyond those already offered by corrections. Such an impact can only be assessed by a comparison of the performance of experimental (intensive service) clients to that of control clients, in the FOR case using two indices, reincarceration and employment. Of the 1,225 cases analyzed, 623 were experimentals and 602 were controls.

Because FBI arrest records were made available, our data on recidivism was excellent. However, even this abundance of information did not permit an accurate assessment of overall performance because (a) the number of clients, both intensive and control, who were reincarcerated was small, and (b) systems effects surely obscured the impact of treatment. Only 33 per cent of the population were arrested one or more times during the course of the study. Only 20 per cent of the population were removed from the community to jail or prison one or more times. Twelve per cent of the population were incarcerated due to revocation of release or probationary supervision. An average of 45 weeks per incarcerated client was spent in jail or prison during the monitoring period.

Largely obtained from the records of the U. S. Probation Service, our employment data was not sufficient to permit sound assessment in this second area of concern, since many clients were either not under supervision or did not remain so very long. There was also some indication that the reported information was often not reliable. Excluding periods of incarceration, the majority of the population, 58 per cent, were employed 100 per cent of the known time in the community. White collar jobs were held by 40 per cent and blue collar jobs by 60 per cent.

A slightly larger number of experimentals (21 per cent as compared to 19 per cent of the controls) were not only incarcerated but were imprisoned for slightly longer periods of time. A slightly smaller number of experimentals (55 per cent compared to 62 per cent of the controls) were partially or fully employed during 100 per cent of their known time in the community.

CHAPTER VI REFLECTIONS IN A GIMLET EYE

INTRODUCTION

It seems reasonable to assume that the findings of the preceding chapter will appeal to VR personnel, since an ample reservoir of clients produced a rehabilitation rate of 42 per cent. And this should serve as a positive answer to the question, "Can public offenders be rehabilitated?" But a second, and more haunting, question remains: "What precisely rehabilitates them?" Specifically, does the addition of VR services to those already offered by corrections enhance the rehabilitation - resocialization process? In other words, does it improve the performance of public offenders in the two primary areas of concern, employment and recidivism?

This question can only be assessed by a comparison of the performance of experimental (intensive service) clients to that of the control clients. The control clients, it will be remembered, were those individuals who were not scheduled for VR service of any kind and who were expected to contribute to the national crime wave, while the experimentals hopefully swelled the ranks of working America. If that result had been obtained, the FOR Program would have a nice, clean package to sell and that would be that. However, it might also be remembered that Mrs. Matthews tried to warn field staff as early as 1967 that something to the contrary seemed to be indicated by preliminary data analysis.

Analyzing performance is more complex than it sounds — or at least it should be. If results varied according to client background and needs and/or the kind of service received, then a simple comparison of experimentals to controls is not sufficient. It has already been recorded that the total FOR population included offenders with various criminal and social attributes, and it also has been noted that not all experimental clients received VR services, and even fewer received what might be termed "intensive" service. In addition, the FOR projects were described as quite different one from another in the unique mixtures of offenders they served and in the kind and extent of services they provided.

Although multiple indices for assessing performance were originally planned, the FOR architects eventually took their lead from the phrase, "re-established in a productive and law-abiding role in society," and incorporated only the two indices, employment and recidivism. Employment is certainly an appropriate measure in a study of the impact of vocational rehabilitation techniques since holding a job was, until recently, the final criterion of rehabilitation; and a measure of recidivism has obvious application to an experiment focusing upon offenders. However, the method employed in transforming these two variables into measures of performance was affected by the kind of data available and the manner in which it was analyzed. Some choices consequently had to be made concerning the definitions of employment and recidivism that were related not only to what was considered the context of the study, but also to data limitations. Within this chapter, once these choices have been delineated, information on the total population will be used to illustrate the kinds of information we had available to determine the impact of VR treatment on the offender population.

RECIDIVISM

The FOR data on recidivism was excellent, particularly since our program was the only study of its kind afforded access to FBI arrest records. As a result, we probably collected more information on serious crimes than any of our predecessors. In fact our data on recidivism is so plentiful that problems were experienced in achieving consistency in the information received and in reducing the tremendous amount of detail to manageable size. Still, because of our own faulty decisions on data collection, we neglected to accumulate, or code, precise information on past performance, i.e., criminal activity that occurred prior to the inception of the FOR monitoring system. Without comparable information on past performance, improvement based upon treatment impact could not be measured, and so, again, we were forced to rely upon an absolute measure of success rather than a relative one. It might be remembered that Dr. A. P. Jarrell, of Georgia, and others pointed out the deficiencies in absolute, rather than relative, measurement during the planning period of the program, but this warning was somehow obscured in the administrative scramble to recruit projects and was subsequently not incorporated into the research design.

The wealth of information that we did collect was pulled from local police records by counselors and probation officers, as well as from information picked up by parole officers who received inquiries about their constituents. In addition to this local reporting system, the FBI arrest records covered a two-year period on about three-fourths of the total FOR study group. The addition of FBI data had quite an impact on our recidivism index. Actually, it doubled the number of persons recorded as arrested, from 195 to 399, out of the total of 1,225 intensive and control cases who actually became a part of the analysis.

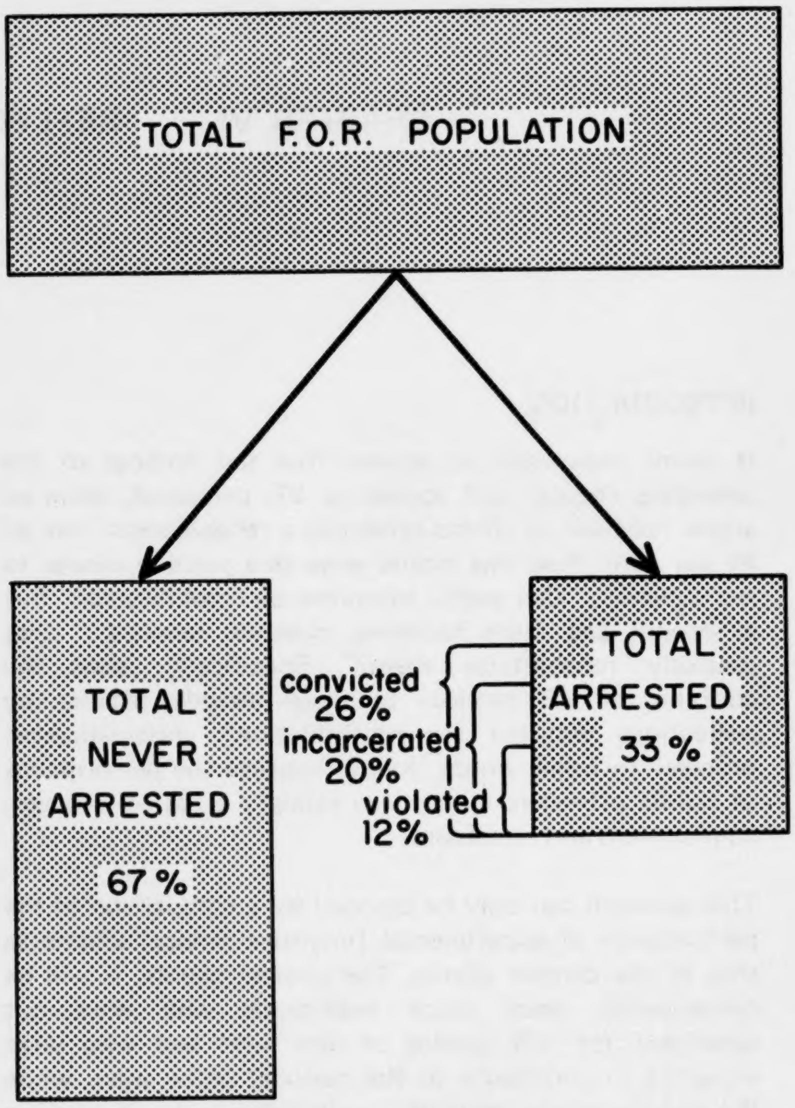
Of these 1,225 cases, there were 623 experimentals and 602 controls, almost a like number of each. Since 2,654 eligible cases were monitored, it should again be noted that control group II was dropped from the analysis due to the unavailability of sufficient data, and a certain number of intensives and control I's were also dropped for a variety of reasons; for example, death, reincarceration before first contact.

Although we had good, but complex, data on recidivism we found it difficult to establish an applicable definition of the term. It was finally decided that criminal activity had to clearly disrupt the rehabilitation process before it could be determined as recidivism for the purposes of the FOR study. Since the rehabilitation process implied a community based progression toward improvement in employment, relationships with family and friends, and increased self-esteem, our definition of recidivism had to denote removal from the community setting. Arrest without conviction, or conviction without incarceration (i.e., an additional probationary or suspended sentence) are reported, but they did not contribute to our recidivism index. The following, however, did: jail terms, whether or not on misdemeanor counts; imprisonment for new felony crimes; and imprisonment because parole, mandatory release or probationary supervision was revoked. It should be clearly understood that we only measured recidivism as it occurred during the course of the FOR study, not before.

The incidence of recidivism taken alone in numbers was not considered sufficient for our purpose. An interval measure, time removed from the community, i.e., removed from the rehabilitation process, was developed to measure the impact of treatment. Ideally, treatment could affect the recidivism index in several different ways. One, it could have reduced the number of people removed from the community. Two, it could have reduced the amount of time they spent out of the community and, three, it could have delayed removal from the community. The first effect was measured by a simple percentage of incarcerations. The second was measured by the percentage of time removed from the community applied to the span of the FOR Program (in the case of Plan C clients, from the point of first release to program termination). The third was measured by the length of time from assignment to the program (or initial release with Plan C cases) to first arrest or re-arrest thereafter.[67]

In terms of the total population, intensives and controls, a third (399) were arrested at least once during the FOR Program for an average of 1.7 arrests per person. Of those who were arrested, 317 people (26 per cent) were convicted. Of those who were convicted, 68 were not removed from the community but were awarded additional probationary sentences, suspended sentences, or fines. This left 249 (20 per cent) who went to jail or prison as the result of new convictions or revocations. In other words, while 33 per cent of the total population were re-arrested, about 20 per cent were incarcerated or reincarcerated, during the program.[68]

FIGURE VI.1. – THE OCCURRENCE OF FURTHER LEGAL DIFFICULTY



About one-fourth of those incarcerated under new sentences were removed from the community to jail, in other words, to local points of incarceration and probably for short sentences. Another one-fourth were removed from the community to prison as a result of new convictions. Fully half of the removals, however, were the result of revocations of supervision.[69]

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[67] For further details on the data used on the recidivism index and the possibilities available to us, see the Methodological Appendix, pages 168-170.

[68] These and all following figures, including indices on both recidivism and employment, are based upon two years of data for 942 cases or 77 per cent of the population and nine months of data for 283 cases or 23 per cent of the population. These 283 persons were either assigned after February, 1967, or, in the case of Plan C projects, released after this date so that two-year data were not available by the close of the project February, 1969. Intensives had 75 per cent (470 cases) with full 2-year data expected, while controls had 78 per cent (471 cases).

[69] In contrast, Glaser, who dealt with a similar releasee population in the early sixties, found that among his panel of 1,015 releasees, 48 per cent had been re-arrested and 41 per cent had been convicted for new crimes or revoked; 31 per cent had been removed from the community to prison and five per cent had been removed to prison as a result of revocations.

The high incidence of revocation demands special examination. Revocation can occur as a result of a technical violation, such as leaving the federal district of supervision without permission, or it can result from a new conviction. As a result of new convictions, revoked sentences can be added on to new sentences, or they can be imposed without benefit of a new trial. On the basis of information available, it was impossible to divide revoked sentences into the two types: those that were imposed without benefit of new trial and those that were added on to new sentences as the result of conviction. The power to revoke is invested in the U. S. Board of Parole based upon the recommendations of probation/parole officers. A revocation proceeding does not involve, or is only beginning to involve, any of the forms of criminal proceedings normally expected in a court of law, such as right to counsel and appeal.

From the standpoint of the offender, a revocation for a technical violation must appear arbitrary. But, from the standpoint of the outsider, a revocation for a new crime without trial implies there was no presumption of innocence. A revocation for a new crime that evolved out of a new conviction means that the offender will be punished twice, once by a revoked sentence and once by a new sentence.

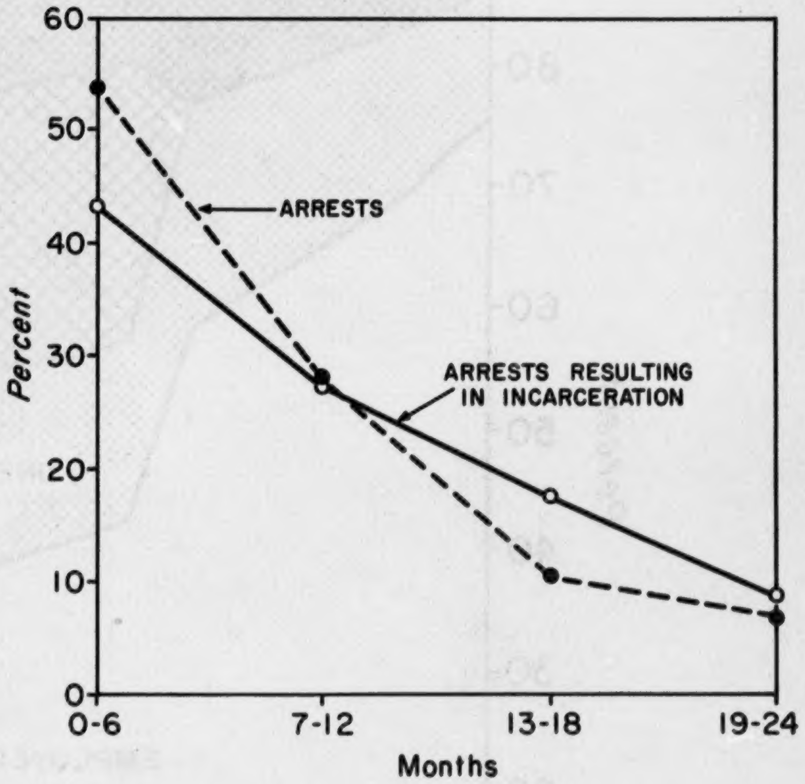
If, in fact, revocations now represent a high percentage of new prison terms, many people are being declared guilty without benefit of trial, without opportunity to prove innocence, and with no apparent thought on the part of the state to accept them as innocent until proven guilty. The result appears to be nothing but a parody of justice.

Aside from the injustice involved in revocations, these sentences presented a problem more pertinent to the evaluation of FOR treatment. We were concerned that impact on recidivism might have been largely influenced by the system being examined, i.e., by staff participants, members of the Parole Board and the Probation Service. When we measured time out of the community as a result of further jail or prison sentences, we were dealing with a very small proportion of the population, 20 per cent. Of that small group, more than one-half were removed from the community to prison because of systems response — revocation. (This is not to imply that law enforcement and new trials are not a systems response, but policemen and judges were not involved in the FOR study.)

When a large proportion of recidivism results from revocation, whether for administrative violation or new conviction, it is quite possible for members of the system, of the Parole Board or the Probation Service to artificially tamper with recidivism either by deciding not to revoke experimentals or by being more aware of reasons for revocation (being more conscious of who the experimentals were) and thereby revoking more.

Because such a large proportion of the FOR recidivism could be traced to revocation, it was difficult to measure the impact of treatment by our recidivism index. Even if the issue had not been clouded by revocation, the total rate of recidivism was small. This left 80 per cent of the population whose performance had to be assessed in other areas. In short, the impact of treatment could not be based upon recidivism alone. It would have been advantageous had we developed a solid data base for assessing several areas of community activity not associated with re-arrest and reincarceration, but unfortunately, the original design limited us to only one: employment.

FIGURE VI.2. — MONTH OF FIRST ARREST AND MONTH OF FIRST INCARCERATED ARREST

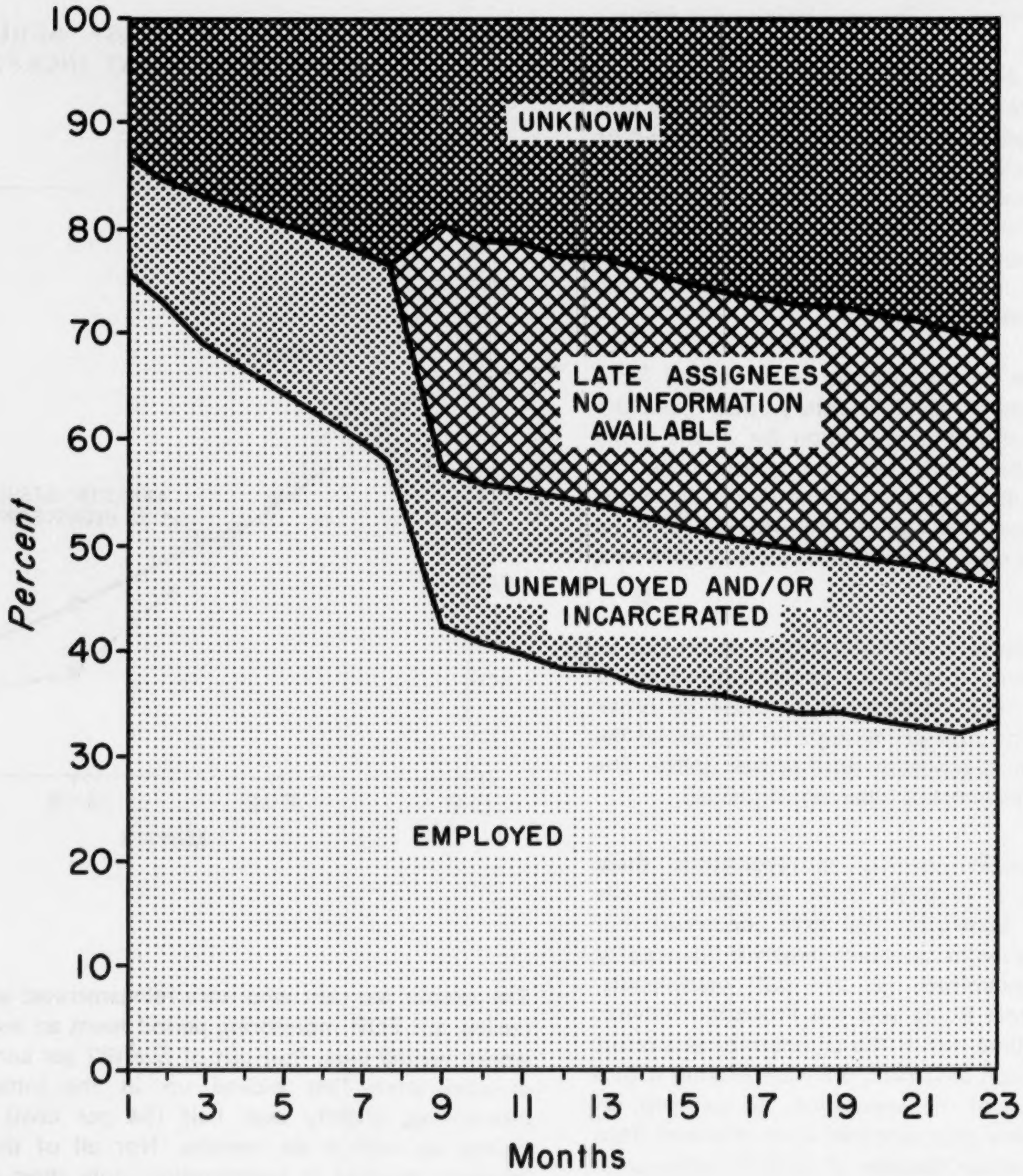


The twenty per cent who were reincarcerated at least once during the FOR monitoring period spent an average of 45 weeks behind bars; four out of five (82 per cent) of those arrested were first picked up in the initial year of monitoring; slightly over half (54 per cent) were first picked up within six months. Not all of these arrests, however, resulted in incarceration; only three out of four (74 per cent) persons whose first arrest resulted in incarceration occurred within the first year and slightly less than half (46 per cent) occurred within the first six months.

EMPLOYMENT

The question became, "What form should employment take as a measure of performance, specifically as a measure of the differences between experimentals and controls?" In terms of employment, we were caught with very imprecise and incomplete data, partly as a result of decisions made earlier about the data to be collected in this area and partly as a result of the availability of data. We would have liked more precision both in the area of past employment, that is prior to FOR, and during FOR employment. Statistically, we would have liked to have known whether or not an individual was employed in any given time period, for how long he was employed, what his job titles were and how much money he made. As well, we would have liked to have known whether his job was appropriate to his skills and aptitudes.

FIGURE VI.3. – DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT INFORMATION OVER PERIOD MONITORED



Actually, the data-gathering instruments we had devised enabled us to record job title and income at nine months after case assignment to FOR and again at two years after assignment fairly precisely, however income was loosely categorized. Although we were provided estimates of whether or not the clients were employed month-to-month over the two-year period, it was impossible to tell within the design of these instruments whether or not employment was for any given full month or only a small portion of that month. The same was true for unemployment. In addition, employment information in general grew more sparse as the FOR time period advanced. In any study, it is always expected that there will be a certain proportion of the population about whom one has no information. In the FOR monthly employment data, we found unknowns increasing as time progressed (from about 12 per cent of the total population initially to 54 per cent at the end of the program), to the extent that we eventually began to question the validity of the total information in this area.[70]

Given these data limitations, we looked for a measure of performance that was sensitive enough to pick up the impact of treatment, but which did not ignore some of the reliability problems of these data. Since we were unable to

[70] Of the 54 per cent unknown at the end of the project, slightly less than one half (23 per cent) were unknown because they were not in the community for two years of monitoring due to late assignment in the case of Plan A and B projects and late release in the case of Plan C projects. For further information concerning the data problems in the area of unemployment, see Appendix A, pages 167-168.

measure improvement because of insufficient information on past performance and since we could not measure job appropriateness either, we were forced to rely upon examination of the length of time in employment when comparing experimentals to controls.

In dealing with employment over time, the problem of the increased percentage of unknowns toward the end of the program had to be handled; hence, we excluded unknown time in the community (as well as time incarcerated) and constructed a detailed index of known employment information only. On that more limited basis, we determined percentage of time employed.

Within that context, the following information evolved for the total population, both intensives and controls. The majority, 58 per cent, were employed 100 per cent of the known community time. Only 7 per cent were never employed, while 11 per cent were employed less than half of the known community time. The rest, 24 per cent, were employed between half and all of the known time.

Information on job titles and income was available for 55 per cent of the population at nine months and for one-third of the population at two years.[71] An additional ten per cent of the total population were in jail, both at nine months and two years; the others had simply vanished. For those on whom we had job title information, 40 per cent were in white collar jobs and 60 per cent in blue collar jobs. The occupational spectrum ranged from 10-15 per cent in the white collar professional-managerial category and 2 to 6 per cent in the blue collar unskilled category. These job category percentages generally revealed considerable stability from the nine month form to the two year form. As for income, the middle category was $251 to $500 per month, with earnings of 42 per cent of the known population in this range — a loose categorization which did not tell us too much since a considerable difference in standards of living is apparent between incomes of $250 and $500 per month.

In short, most of the population (58 per cent) had some kind of a job during all the months we knew about them. Unfortunately, we did not know about a lot of the people a lot of the time. Where these people fell in terms of employment and unemployment, occupation and income, we simply could not determine.

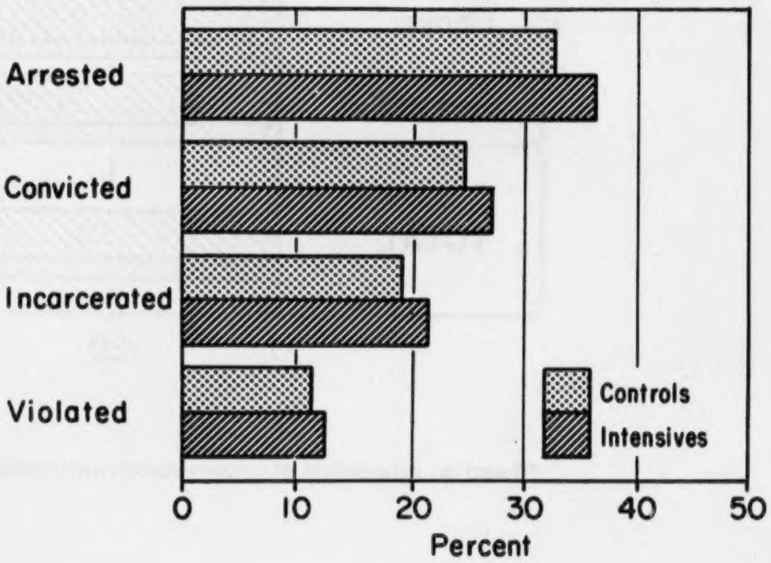
For all of the problems inherent in this limited and imprecise information we were stuck with the data we had and the reader will have to read the portion of the report dealing with employment as cautiously and critically as we ourselves tried to approach it. Since the previous section on recidivism revealed the necessity of collecting performance data on something other than re-arrest or reincarceration, it is our recommendation that some means be devised for gathering more pertinent employment data, particularly as they relate to improvement, for use in further studies of this sort.

OUTCOME

This brings us to the meat of our movable feast, to the basic question inherent in our four-year endeavor. Did intensive service clients out-perform control clients? Were they less recidivistic and more consistently employed as a result of the VR services they received?

With these questions in mind, we will compare experimentals and controls in numbers arrested, convicted and reincarcerated with special emphasis on the numbers revoked. We will also compare the two groups in terms of percentage reincarcerated, average time spent out of the community and the date of first incarcerated arrest. Although employment information was incomplete and not very specific (in fact, we question much of its validity), we will compare experimentals and controls through relative proportion of long-time employment, and we will describe comparative occupation and income at nine months and two years after assigment to the program.

FIGURE VI.4. — RECIDIVISM RATES FOR INTENSIVES AND CONTROLS



In terms of these measurements, a slightly larger number of intensives were incarcerated, 21.4 per cent versus 19.3 per cent of the controls. In terms of the mean amount of time spent in prison for the two groups, based upon the number of people incarcerated, intensives averaged 46 weeks while controls averaged 43 weeks, reflecting a slightly larger proportion of the experimentals imprisoned for greater lengths of time. Sixty-four per cent of the experimentals and 60 per cent of the controls were imprisoned for a third of the two-year period. Throughout the program, the larger proportion of incarcerated arrests occurred in the first six months of the study, and 47 per cent of the experimentals managed to fall into this category compared to 45 per cent of the controls. None of these differences are large enough to be significant in a substantive sense.

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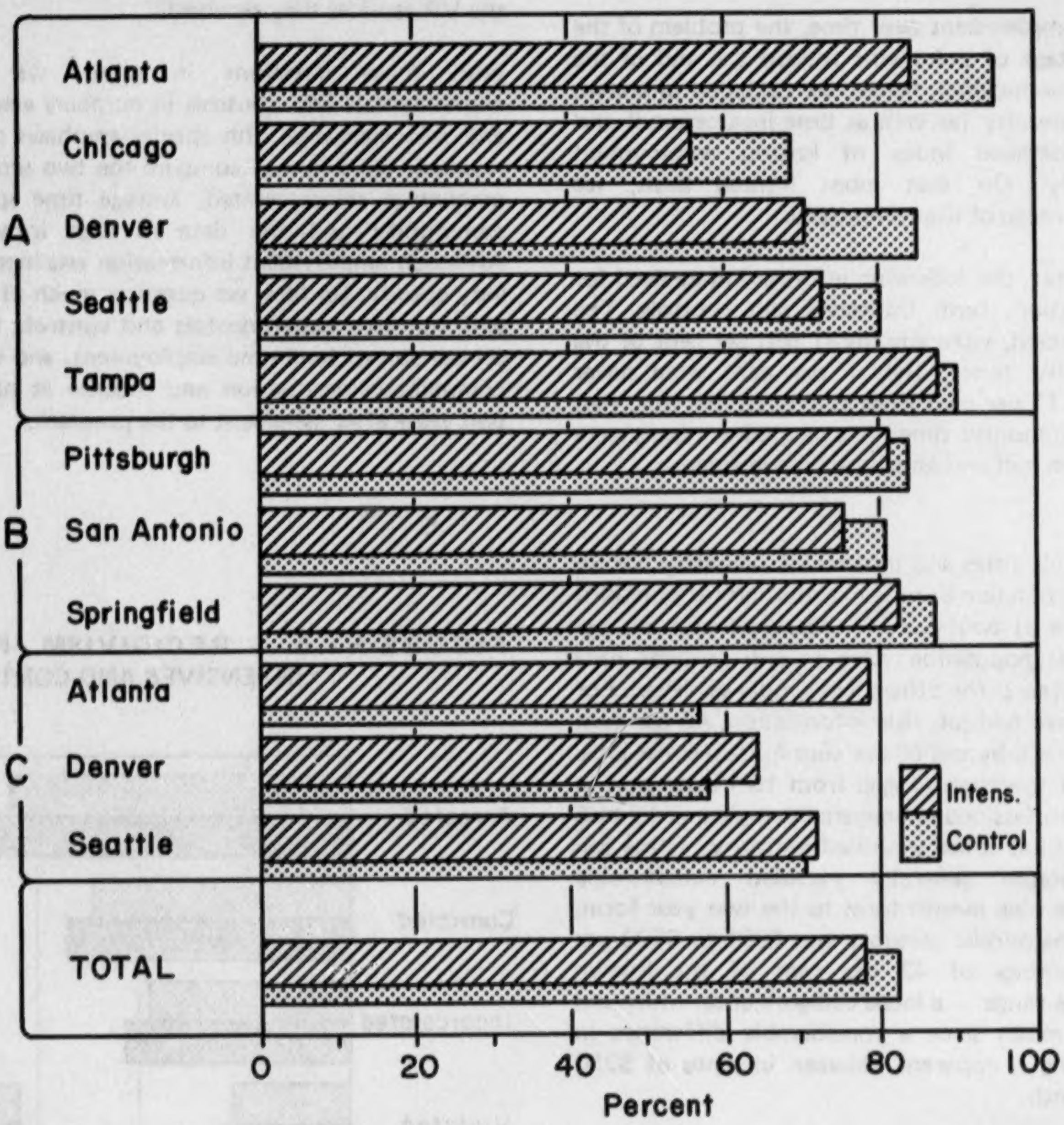
[71] Since at 2 years 23 per cent of the population had, by design, no data collected on them, at both time periods we were missing expected job information on approximately 35 per cent of the population.

FIGURE VI.5. – EMPLOYMENT RATES FOR INTENSIVES AND CONTROLS
(Project By Project Comparison*)



*Based on proportion of known community time employed.

When experimentals and controls were compared in terms of the percentage of time employed, experimentals produced a slightly lower rate. It is possible that this difference might have been attributable to a larger unknown population within the controls, since 12 per cent of the controls were unknown during the two-year survey, compared to 6 per cent of the experimentals. If these controls were concentrated in the lower employment rates, then this could have affected the comparative indices. As it stands, for the total population, 58 per cent were employed 100 per cent of the known time; 62 per cent of the controls were employed 100 per cent of the known time and 55 per cent of the intensives. Nine per cent of the controls were employed less than half of the known time and 13 per cent of the experimentals. This did not represent an extreme difference between the two groups however the experimentals were somewhat lower in terms of sustained employment.

When we examined occupation recorded at nine months and two years, we found that the controls revealed somewhat more unknowns at both time periods. In the area of occupation, the experimentals were, however, able to produce more white collar personnel, largely due to a higher ratio of people employed in clerical occupations. They also exhibited fewer unskilled and miscellaneous transient laborers than did the controls. This differential increased from nine months to two years. On income, controls appeared slightly higher. In short, the controls exhibited somewhat higher employment rates and income, while the experimentals presented a somewhat higher proportion of white collar jobs.

TABLE VI.1. — OCCUPATIONAL STATUSES FOR INTENSIVES AND CONTROLS

	9-MONTH		2-YEAR	
OCCUPATION*	**Intensive**	**Control**	**Intensive**	**Control**
WHITE COLLAR				
Professional	3.7	3.4	4.2	3.9
	13	11	9	7
Managerial, Technical	7.1	7.3	11.7	11.6
	25	24	25	21
Clerical and Sales	17.9	13.4	21.6	12.7
	63	44	46	23
Service	12.5	13.1	9.4	8.8
	44	43	20	16
Subtotal	41.3	37.2	46.9	37.0
	145	122	100	67
BLUE COLLAR				
Farming, etc.	1.1	2.4	1.4	3.3
	4	8	3	6
Processing	2.0	3.0	1.4	2.8
	7	10	3	5
Machine Trades	11.1	9.8	7.0	12.2
	39	32	15	22
Bench Work	7.1	5.8	3.8	6.1
	25	19	8	11
Structural Work	19.9	19.5	25.4	17.1
	70	64	54	31
Miscellaneous	12.5	14.3	13.1	18.8
	44	47	28	34
Unskilled (n.e.c.)	4.8	7.9	0.9	2.8
	17	26	2	5
Subtotal	58.7	62.8	53.1	63.0
	206	206	113	114
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	351	328	213	181

*Classifications based upon The Dictionary of Occupational Titles, Vol. I and II, Third Edition, U. S. Department of Labor, 1965.

It would appear at this point, that no matter how we looked at it, the difference between the experimentals and the controls, either in terms of recidivism or employment, was extremely small and this difference all too often favored the controls. A conclusion on this basis apparently would be that treatment had no impact on the experimentals. But this hardly seems sufficient, given what we knew about the variability of the population and the variability of the treatment received.

Here we should explain the importance of background and treatment differences in relationship to performance. For example, people with a certain cluster of background characteristics may react to a form of treatment by creating a negative relationship to performance. People with another set of background characteristics given the the same form of treatment could react positively in relationship to performance. Given this possibility, overall, these two reactions could have a canceling effect and we would see no difference in total treatment-control comparisons. It is also possible that a group of people with the same background characteristics receiving two forms of treatment could react positively to one form and negatively to the other form in relationship to performance, again giving us a canceling effect.

A review of the projects allow us to illustrate this possibility, since we know that they differed in terms of the kinds of offenders which they brought to the experiment (see Chapter III) and that they differed in terms of the treatment which they used and their changing perceptions of that treatment. (see Chapters II and IV). Projects were, in fact, a mix of client characteristics and treatment.

Differences in the kinds of offenders can be illustrated by looking at controls only, across projects. The rate of incarceration varied widely for controls alone. For instance, the rate in Pittsburgh was 10.7 per cent of controls re-incarcerated and in Atlanta C, the rate was 39.5 per cent of controls reincarcerated. When we look at projects, we do control for some background variation and this refinement can be examined most easily by looking at legal statuses within projects in relationship to incarceration. (See Table VI 2).

Not only did projects vary in terms of the background of the offenders whom they brought to the experiment, but also they varied in terms of the impact their treatment forms had on the experimentals. This can be illustrated by looking at the differences between experimentals and controls on incarceration across projects. For example, in San Antonio, experimentals had an incarceration rate that was 9.5 percentage points higher than the rate for controls. In Seattle C, the experimental incarceration rate was 6.4 percentage points lower than the rate for controls. Again, projects control for some of the variation in treatment and this refinement can be illustrated by looking at the differences between controls who received no treatment, experimentals who received no treatment and experimentals who received maximum treatment in relationship to incarceration rates. (See Table VI 3).

Here we find in a majority of projects that those intensives who received no purchased service produced higher rates of incarceration than did the controls (who did not receive any purchased services, either). But it was also true in a majority of projects that those intensives who received maximum, or intensive, services also revealed higher rates of incarceration than controls.

When comparing intensive sub-groups divided according to degree of service, projects show a variety of trends. As reflected in the above table, Atlanta A and C, Chicago and Tampa exhibited maximum incarceration rates in the "no purchased service" group with decreases becoming apparent upon receipt of some purchased service. Conversely, in three projects the minimum rate occurred in the no purchased service group and increased with the receipt of service, noticeably with intensive service – Denver A, Seattle A and Springfield B.

With this set of qualifications, we are now ready to look at treatment and control differences across projects on all indicators to gain some idea as to whether or not there were certain types of people for whom certain types of treatment improved performance. The project differences on the employment indicators show us that the Plan C projects did better than the others in the sense that their experimentals were more often employed than their controls. This was particularly true for Atlanta C, where a dramatic difference occurred (experimentals being employed 78.9 per cent of known community time as compared to 56.6 per cent for controls). Since we can't relate background and treatment within these projects, nor can we relate the two performance indicators, it is difficult to speculate as to why there was an impact on employment in the Plan C projects. We might note that the populations from which they drew were quite different with the

TABLE VI.2. – PROPORTION OF CONTROLS REINCARCERATED BY LEGAL STATUS (Project By Project Comparison)

PROJECT	Probationers	RELEASEES Parolee	 Mandatory Releasee	 Institutional Pre-Releasee	 Subtotal	TOTAL
A						
Atlanta	15.6	11.8	25.0		17.2	16.4
Chicago		75.0			17.6	9.1
Denver	6.8	39.1	16.7		34.5	17.8
Seattle	13.9	31.0	30.8		31.0	23.1
Tampa	20.0	15.2	50.0		22.0	21.1
B						
Pittsburgh	8.8	22.2	7.7		13.6	10.7
San Antonio	10.7	33.3	34.8		34.3	23.8
Springfield	8.7	17.9	8.7		13.7	12.2
C						
Atlanta				39.5	39.5	39.5
Denver				33.3	33.3	33.3
Seattle				23.3	23.3	23.3
TOTAL	11.0	23.2	22.8	31.4	25.1	19.0

TABLE VI.3. – PROPORTION OF TOTAL POPULATION REINCARCERATED BY DEGREE OF *FOR* TREATMENT RECEIVED

	CONTROLS	INTENSIVES			
		DEGREE OF TREATMENT*			
PROJECT		No Purchased Service	Regular Service	Intensive Service	TOTAL
A					
Atlanta	14.8	24.3	14.3	0.0	19.7
Chicago	-------	8.1	0.0	0.0	5.9
Denver	17.6	7.4	16.7	30.3	20.6
Seattle	23.7	19.5	45.5	39.3	30.0
Tampa	21.1	19.2	0.0	7.7	15.1
B					
Pittsburgh	10.7	12.0	6.3	15.4	11.1
San Antonio	23.8	40.0	23.5	34.6	33.3
Springfield	13.5	11.6	5.6	36.4	13.9
C					
Atlanta	39.5	80.0	19.0	41.7	39.5
Denver	33.3	50.0	60.0	16.7	41.2
Seattle	25.8	0.0	50.0	22.7	19.4
TOTAL	19.3	19.5	17.5	27.1	21.4

*Degree of treatment is based upon multiplicity of service. Regular service includes anyone receiving purchased services excluding maintenance and training/tools. Intensive service includes anyone receiving at least maintenance and training/tools.

extremes represented by Atlanta C, which involved a maximum security institution with an older inmate population and Denver C which was associated with a minimum security institution housing many first-time juvenile offenders. We also could note that there were some differences in terms of treatment given. Atlanta was quite unusual in that tools alone were provided more frequently than training, a pattern unlike any other project. These particular differences cannot be specified in terms of impact, but do give rise to some interesting possible hypotheses for further exploration.

When project differences are applied to the recidivism indices, we find, on the surface, a confusing picture; in some projects the experimentals were consistently worse than the controls, whether one looks at arrests, conviction, incarceration or violations: Other projects exhibited no difference or negative impact. (See Table VI 4.) One project, Seattle C, shows a consistently positive difference in favor of the experimentals for all indices except in percentage of time reincarcerated. What seems to be indicated in this rather complicated picture of project treatment and control differences in relationship to recidivism is a systems effect.

Since VR services alone apparently had no impact on the rate of recidivism, presumably experimentals and controls should have produced consistent trends across projects. Since they were not consistent, something else must have caused the differences. It seems to follow that variations in systems of justice had an integral effect, or more specifically, it would appear that these differences lend some support to the argument that "treatment," in a variety of fashions, interacted with various systems of criminal "justice," augmenting the arrest rate in some locales and reducing conviction and/or incarceration in others. Revocation comparisons may also reflect a similar interaction, measuring the intervention of "treatment" upon systems of "justice" as well as objective – offender behavior. In four projects there were fairly substantial revocation differentials – large enough to alter the direction of comparison between experimentals and controls.

TABLE VI.4. – RECIDIVISM RATES FOR INTENSIVES AND CONTROLS (Project By Project Comparison)

	INTENSIVES					CONTROLS				
PROJECT	Arrested	Convicted	Incarcerated	Violated	TOTAL	Arrested	Convicted	Incarcerated	Violated	TOTAL
A										
Atlanta	31.1 19	24.6 15	19.7 12	9.8 6	61	27.9 17	16.4 10	14.8 9	8.2 5	61
Chicago	21.6 11	15.7 8	5.9 3	5.9 3	51	15.2 5	3.0 1	-------	-------	33
Denver	37.0 27	26.0 19	20.6 15	15.1 11	73	36.5 27	27.1 20	17.6 13	13.5 10	74
Seattle	42.5 34	33.7 27	30.0 24	16.3 13	80	36.3 29	33.7 27	23.7 19	16.3 13	80
Tampa	32.9 24	24.7 18	15.1 11	11.0 8	73	27.6 21	23.7 18	21.1 16	11.8 9	76
B										
Pittsburgh	16.7 9	14.8 8	11.1 6	3.7 2	54	25.0 14	14.3 8	10.7 6	5.4 3	56
San Antonio	52.4 33	39.6 25	33.3 21	19.0 12	63	39.7 25	38.1 24	23.8 15	9.5 6	63
Springfield	23.6 17	18.1 13	13.9 10	6.9 5	72	23.0 17	16.2 12	13.5 10	9.5 7	74
C										
Atlanta	53.5 23	46.5 20	39.5 17	20.9 9	43	42.1 16	39.5 15	39.5 15	18.4 7	38
Denver	52.9 9	47.1 8	41.2 7	29.4 5	17	40.0 6	33.3 5	33.3 5	20.0 3	15
Seattle	22.2 8	22.2 8	19.4 7	8.3 3	36	29.0 9	25.8 8	25.8 8	16.1 5	31
TOTAL	34.3 214	27.2 169	21.4 133	12.4 77	623	30.9 186	24.6 148	19.3 116	11.3 68	601

SUMMARY

If all sorts of treatment had an impact on improving performance for a wide range of types of persons, then the present research design and analysis should have been adequate to reveal this. However, a general impact of this nature was not apparent. Experimental-control differentials overall are substantively slight but statistically significant and show that experimentals do somewhat worse.

If variation in treatment and background made any difference in the direction and magnitude of impact on performance, then as a minimum, more sophisticated analysis is needed to introduce simultaneous statistical controls for this variation.

The conclusions from this type of analysis would be only as valuable as the completeness and quality of the data input into it.

Since FOR data had some limitations (we hope future studies improve upon our data, particularly in the area of employment), it is important to afford attention to the variations, per se, that we did reveal, even if we were not able to assess specific impact. In other words, future studies should make an attempt to explicitly measure inherent variation – systems effects and to eliminate undesirable variations – treatment strategies.

The use of projects as little replications of the research design, controlled for some of this variation and showed:

(1) perhaps some improvement in employment in a couple of projects

(2) some indication that, in relation to recidivism, treatment was having some direct impact, both positive and negative, on the "justice" system and hence on recidivism rather than on the behavior of the offender and hence on recidivism.

These findings speak more for a replication of the study than they do as conclusive evidence of the impact, or lack there of, of VR services on the performance of offenders. Although overall impact of all sorts of VR treatment on all sorts of offenders is ruled out, the possibility of differential impact remains and is still undetermined. Greater specificity would call for a more inclusive design which incorporated the possibilities of systems effects and which controlled treatment. FOR's descriptions of project operations and treatment provide the beginnings of this specificity. Certainly, too, the information used to assess impact, i.e., performance indicators, would have to be made sensitive enough to pick up changes in offender behavior which were primarily attributable to treatment effects and not to systems effects. As well, the importance of recidivism should be de-emphasized and improvement in employment should be refined.

In conclusion, we strongly recommend that the future of vocational rehabilitation services for public offenders not be influenced by this study alone, but that the FOR experiment should be seen as no more than an integral segment in the exacting process of defining correctional rehabilitation.

CHAPTER VII IF AT FIRST . . .

Although the FOR Program was beset with difficulties, we believe it was an important step toward better understanding of correctional rehabilitation. We can only hope that others will follow our explorations, learn from our mistakes and findings, and through these continue the efforts we have begun.

CHAPTER VII IF AT FIRST . . .

(SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS)

SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

The five years from FOR's beginning to end were filled with more than client services and computer processing of punched data. The practical possibilities for correctional rehabilitation were greatly enhanced by the advent of concern for juvenile delinquency and the poor, by expansion of VR legislation to include the socially handicapped and by correction's change of emphasis to community services. A core of people committed to refining correctional rehabilitation developed. The title of the FOR report is a question, "A Future for Correctional Rehabilitation?" The answer remains with those who will be FOR's successors.

Here, for their use, is a brief summary of FOR's beginnings, activities, and outcome, a series of conclusions, and recommendations for future correctional rehabilitation programs.

Aside from the humanitarian aspect inherent in the rehabilitation movement, the major impetus for creating the Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program emerged from the complimentary needs of vocational rehabilitation agencies and federal corrections: vocational rehabilitation was eager to develop a new source of clientele and had developed the resourcefulness to serve it, while corrections had an abundance of clients but insufficient community resources to meet their needs. The resulting alliance produced a four-partner relationship composed of the Rehabilitation Services Administration (formerly Vocational Rehabilitation Administration) and three federal correctional agencies, the U. S. Bureau of Prisons, the U. S. Probation Service and the U. S. Board of Parole. This national collaborative research and demonstration effort, eventually involving eight satellite projects in seven state vocational rehabilitation agencies, had as its primary purpose to test and demonstrate the effectiveness of providing intensive vocational rehabilitation services to federal offenders at specified stages in the correctional process. The research aspects of the study was preceded by the desire to initiate field activity, resulting in many basic research decisions being made by administrative planners before research specialists became involved.

During the seven months of the planning stage, in succession, three months were devoted to selecting the satellite project sites, two months were allowed for developing the research design, and another two months were occupied in finding a permanent research director and planning an initial inter-agency orientation conference. In the midst of all this activity, the architects of the study neglected to specify treatment strategy in the research design. Instruments for measuring improvement in client performance as a result of treatment were also omitted. Instead, indices for determining success emerged. These were absolute rather than relative criteria and as such they lacked an appropriate degree of sensitivity. Traditional vocational rehabilitation requirements for establishing client eligibility were replaced by a system of assigning clients to experimental and control groups by random selection. The decision to employ this procedure, which denied the prerogative of case screening by conventional standards, promptly resulted in the withdrawal of several prospective projects, and replacements had to be recruited. The formal planning phase lasted from April 1, 1965 to November 1, 1965, when the FOR Program became operational.

Over the next three and a half years of FOR field operations, four distinct trends appeared. Intra-project staff relationships changed from formal to tense to informal. FOR counselors became less oriented toward the purchase of service and job placement and became more nearly the "change agents" themselves. The changes in the counselors prompted problems of service approval by parent VR agencies. During all of these changes it became increasingly apparent that the program office had little influence on the projects' approach to treatment.

The first phase in these parallel changes was brief, lasting about four months. Staffs were formal; counselors, traditional; VR parent agencies, placid; and the program office, powerful. The second phase lasted about eight months. Staffs were pushing each other; counselors were unsure of their task; VR agencies were beginning to wonder; and the program office was meeting its first dead ends. The third phase was another eight months. Staffs were relaxed; counselors were asserting new autonomy and making new demands; VR was negotiating for compromise; and the program staff was without authority in an area of controversy-treatment. The fourth phase was the longest, fifteen months. Staffs were even more relaxed; counselors, clearer; VR had set the limits for service; and the program staff was almost forgotten. The fifth and last phase was again brief, five months. Staffs broke apart with some real regrets; counselors found new jobs, VR was relieved; and the program staff was again powerful with research closure the main concern.

TREATMENT

The treated subject who was the cause of all the controversy over treatment was first a federal offender. More specifically, all prisoners, releasees and probationers having residence within a pre-set radius of the project offices were declared eligible for the FOR Program if they were between the ages of 16 and 55, citizens of the United States, and, if they were incarcerated, had release dates prior to February 29, 1968. (One project served only women, the rest only men.) The screening process based on the above requirements produced a total FOR population of 2,654 eligible clients. On an average, ten eligibles per month were found in each of the seven probation offices and five per month in each of the three institutions. Lists of potential clients, indicating eligible cases, were periodically submitted to the national research staff in Seattle, Washington. Certain judgmental categories were applied to all eligible cases. Prior to initial interview and based upon paper review alone, the vocational rehabilitation counselors placed each of the eligible clients in one of the following judgmental categories: likely to benefit from vocational rehabilitation services, indeterminate as to likelihood for benefitting, or not likely to benefit. At the same time, working independently of the counselors, chief correctional officers (either chief U.S. probation officers or institutional chiefs of classification and parole) placed eligibles in one of the following categories: likely to succeed under free world correctional supervision, indeterminate as to success, or not likely to succeed.

The research staff then divided the total eligible population into an experimental group (intensive service clients) and two control groups. A system of random selection was employed to insure that a comparable number of cases in each judgmental category was assigned to the experimental and control groups. Since eligibility for FOR services was not based upon the establishment of a physical or mental disability and since random assignment ignored the question of feasibility for successful rehabilitation, this constituted a major departure from regular vocational rehabilitation selection procedures.

But, even with random assignment, considerable variation was found in the populations of the different projects in terms of legal status, criminal record and social background. Although these clients required some traditional vocational rehabilitation services, such as job training and restorative medical treatment, most of their problems centered around attitudinal deviations.

Of the 623 assigned as intensive service clients, 113 did not receive any FOR services, 55 of them because they could not be contacted and 58 because they mutually agreed with their counselors that services were not needed.

Only 50 per cent of the intensive caseload received purchased diagnostic treatment. While the diagnostic emphasis in regular VR programs is focused upon determining eligibility for services, diagnostics were obtained in the FOR Program primarily for utilization in plan development. The average expenditure for diagnostics was $87 per case. Of the 510 clients who were engaged in active service, 25 per cent received other purchased services without formal diagnostics.

One-half of the clients received purchased services other than diagnostics. Medical services were provided to only a few FOR clients, and these were rarely of a restorative nature; instead they usually constituted either treatment for minor intercurrent illness or adjustment therapy. Of the 190 clients who received counseling and guidance only, none were afforded counseling in excess of 31 hours; 109 received 5 hours or less.

Of the 510 clients who were accepted for service, 44 per cent received training and/or tools. These services were not essentially designed to reduce, or cancel vocational handicaps but rather were directed toward the achievement of employment sufficiently attractive to induce stability and forestall reversion to criminal activity. Maintenance was provided extensively and at considerable expense, both as a form of basic support and to finance any unusual service not categorized elsewhere.

About one-fourth of the clients received "intensive" services, defined either by high expenditures or multiplicity of service combinations. Since caseloads were limited to 50 intensive clients at any one time, more counseling was provided than is customary in regular VR programs, averaging about 19 hours per client. Excluding time spent in trying to contact clients or time spent in dormant follow-up after successful employment adjustment, length of case service averaged 19 months per client.

By the time field operations were terminated, the FOR counselors had come to look upon themselves, not as purchase agents or coordinators of service, but as providers of service themselves; in short, counseling, per se, achieved a significance it had not previously enjoyed.

OUTCOME

Although assignment to the intensive service group was made by random selection rather than through a normal screening process, and despite the imposition of stringent criteria for successful case closure, the rehabilitation rate of experimental clients of 42 per cent was considerably higher than had been expected. Another 39 per cent of the experimentals were accepted for service but were closed unsuccessfully, not rehabilitated. In accordance with concurrent decisions rendered by counselors and clients alike, 10 per cent of the experimentals were found to be in "no need" of VR services. A final 9 per cent of the intensives were never seen by an FOR counselor, either because they could not be located or because sustained efforts for periods of three months or more failed to effect contact.

If both a referral system and feasibility evaluations had been applied to the experimental group, incredibly enough only 30 of the 510 intensive clients who were accepted for service would have received treatment, and, perhaps even more shocking, only 19 of the 262 rehabilitated clients would have been placed on an active caseload. Yet another approach to the analysis of case processing under regular service is an examination of those control clients referred to regular VR. Only 8 per cent (50 out of 602) were accepted for service under regular VR programs and of that number, 20 per cent (11 of the 50) were closed rehabilitated, while less than half (24) received purchased services.

Although 42 per cent was a substantial percentage of a public offender clientele to be closed in rehabilitated status, it did not define the impact of vocational rehabilitation services beyond those already offered by corrections. Such an impact can only be assessed by comparing the performance of experimental (intensive service) clients to that of control clients, in the FOR case using two indices, reincarceration and employment. Of the 1,225 cases analyzed, 623 were experimentals and 602 were controls.

Because FBI arrest records were made available, our data on recidivism was excellent. However, even this abundance of information did not permit an accurate assessment of overall performance because (a) the number of clients, both intensives and controls, who were reincarcerated was small, and (b) systems effect appeared to obscure the impact of treatment. Only 33 per cent of the population were arrested one or more times during the course of the study. Only 20 per cent of the population were removed from the community to jail or prison one or more times. Twelve per cent of the population were incarcerated due to revocation of parole or probationary supervision. Reincarcerated clients spent an average of 45 weeks in jail or prison during the monitoring period. A slightly larger number of experimentals (21 per cent as compared to 19 per cent of the controls) were not only incarcerated but were imprisoned for slightly longer periods of time.

Largely obtained from the records of the U. S. Probation Service, our employment data was not adequate to permit sound assessment in this second area of concern, since many clients were either not under supervision or did not remain so very long. There was also some indication that the reported information was often not reliable. Excluding periods of incarceration, the majority of the population, 58 per cent, were employed 100 per cent of the known time in the community. White collar jobs were held by 40 per cent and blue collar jobs by 60 per cent.

A slightly smaller number of experimentals (55 per cent compared to 62 per cent of the controls) were partially or fully employed during 100 per cent of their known time in the community.

Even though these findings indicate that FOR treatment did not have a positive impact on sufficient clientele to prove its validity as a uniform technique, these findings did not indicate that the FOR technique or a refinement of it and hence correctional rehabilitation should be abandoned.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CHAPTER I IN THE BEGINNING . . .

Given the planning process which resulted in the FOR Program, we conclude that:

(1) Since research and demonstration efforts like the FOR study are customarily intended to furnish leads for the eventual implementation of new action programs, early research decisions have a tendency to fall into the hands of administrative practitioners rather than research specialists. Consequently research criteria, rather than being integral to the experimental architecture, face the prospect of being awkwardly imposed at a later date upon an operational design already formulated.

(2) If an inordinate amount of time during the planning period of research and demonstration efforts is devoted to the mechanics of satellite project site selections, personnel problems and the administrative coordination of multi-agency operations, then solid research concepts become ruefully neglected.

(3) Specificity of research participation allows agencies to make choices in advance about participation and some of these choices result in no participation. Lack of specificity delays these choices until after a program begins when dropping out is effectively precluded. Under the latter case of limited advance specificity actual participation varies widely from project to project.

Hence we recommend that:

Although evaluative research routinely follows a desire to implement a new action program, research planning and specificity should be given attention as early as possible to insure the effectiveness of research controls. A realistic period of time during the planning phase should be allotted to exploration and pre-test. This becomes the important time to permit the research design to be revised, when and if necessary, before the experiment becomes operational. Specifications for research and action should be agreed upon by the participating agencies before a formal research experiment becomes operational.

CHAPTER II DAYS OF FUTURE PASSED

Given the manner in which the FOR Program was conducted, we conclude that:

(1) During collaborative studies on correctional rehabilitation staff relationships across agencies and disciplines within satellite projects can experience a transformation from precise formality to relaxed cohesiveness.

(2) This change in staff relationships can add impetus to the movement of rehabilitation counselors away from their traditional vocational orientation toward deeper perception of the unique psycho-sociological problems presented by offender clients. As frames of reference widen, counselors eventually begin to look

upon themselves as change agents, as providers of service rather than purchasers.

(3) As counselors progressively withdraw from the conventional posture, the degree of conflict with their parent agencies increases proportionately.

(4) If treatment strategies are specified before a program becomes operational or before participation is finalized, decisions can be rendered as to whether or not the provisions of research grants will take precedence over state manuals of policy.

(5) Without central control, satellite projects develop individually in accord with the particular characteristics of their clients, the energies of their counselors, and the willingness of their project directors to support innovative service.

(6) If fiscal control is retained by state agencies and is not centralized in program headquarters, the use of funds cannot be maximized in a balanced manner.

(7) A study of VR involvement during correction's pre-sentence phase cannot operate in conjunction with a test of VR involvement during correctional supervision.

(8) Casework supervision in an innovative program cannot be carried out effectively by regular program supervisors, who by definition are committed to established procedure.

(9) Collaborative research is an effective experimental tool in the sense that it develops an esprit conducive to exploration, innovation and coordination across agencies and disciplines.

(10) The termination of an innovative program characterized by a solidarity of unit relationships is a traumatic experience for staff. Separation anxiety can reach epidemic proportions. As a result, many participants refuse to accept the possibility of negative findings, and even reject an interest in the findings whatever they are. Instead, a strong tendency develops to recreate the experience elsewhere and, hence, implement the research as though the findings were positive.

Hence we recommend that:

(1) The research branch of an action program should be granted sufficient authority by federal and local state agencies to monitor and control research activities and funds.

(2) The provisions of research grants should take precedence over all established policies. When this is legally impossible, it should be so specified in advance.

(3) Since staff should not be expected to shift abruptly to a new program approach, a period of trial and refinement should be permitted, during which attitudinal change will hopefully evolve toward the desired innovative philosophy.

(4) In innovative programs casework supervision should be handled by specially trained staff members who are afforded sufficient authority to effect new approaches.

(5) The collaborative research process should be carried further than it was in the FOR Program. The possibility of closer and more refined coordination of inter-agency services should be investigated. Participants should be more involved in the planning.

(6) A study of vocational rehabilitation involvement during the pre-sentence stage should be undertaken.

(7) The process of staff professionalization, which seems to be common in experimental programs, should receive further study.

CHAPTER III THE CHOSEN ONES

Given the method of selecting the FOR population and the kinds of offenders who became the study population as a result of that selection, we conclude that:

(1) Since an average of eight new eligible clients were found each month overall, localities similar to those of the FOR projects could each support the allocation of one or more full-time counselors.

(2) In assessing the potential for successful rehabilitation of public offenders, counselor judgment over time during the first years of experience with this clientele becomes more negative and/or more indecisive.

(3) Public offenders are found to be in want of assistance in many of the vocational, medical and psychological areas served by regular VR programs, but taken in combination, personality problems are the crux of the matter.

Hence we recommend that:

(1) A further and more systematic examination should be afforded to the relationship between the counselor's perception of his offender client and the sort of treatment that he provides accordingly.

(2) The rehabilitative needs of public offenders require more extensive evaluation, and techniques for assessing their needs should be specified and, where possible, standardized against an offender population.

(3) The conquest of the offender client's psycho-social problems will be most pertinent to his rehabilitation, no matter how many, or how few, other needs he reveals.

CHAPTER IV THE NOT-SO-NEW TESTAMENT

Given the treatment methods operating during FOR, we conclude that:

(1) Even if diagnostics are not required to determine eligibility for vocational rehabilitation services, about

one-half of a public offender caseload will undergo purchased diagnostics primarily for use in plan development.

(2) In working with public offenders, it is important to begin services early, preferably at the point of initial contact, without regard for involved systems of casework process.

(3) Compared to regular VR clients, few public offenders require medical services, and when these services are provided, they are usually supportive rather than restorative; they most often relate to intercurrent illness or adjustment therapy.

(4) The provision of training and/or tools is usually directed, not toward the reduction of vocational handicaps, but toward enhancing the attractiveness of community stability over that of criminal activity.

(5) Maintenance is the purchased service most frequently needed by public offenders, often for the support of dependents as well as clients.

(6) The process of correctional rehabilitation is long and complex and generally requires more counselor involvement, both from the standpoint of time and variety, than does working with the physically disabled.

(7) Correctional rehabilitation counselors are forced by their clientele and by the context within which they work to grope toward a clearer definition of their basic role as counselors, per se, or change agents in fact.

Hence we recommend that:

(1) Since there is reason to doubt the practicality of engaging public offender clients if diagnostics are required before other services can be inaugurated, this question should receive further study, and consideration should be afforded the possibility of establishing eligibility on the basis of conviction alone.

(2) Since a substantial number of clients receive counseling only, the qualitative difference between correctional and vocational rehabilitation counseling should be more precisely defined.

(3) Potential public offender clients who express an unwillingness to avail themselves of vocational rehabilitation services still pose a challenge to correctional rehabilitation; new methods of enhancing motivation need to be developed.

(4) The supportive, rather than restorative, nature of purchased correctional rehabilitation services should receive further evaluation.

(5) The nature of training and medical services required by the offender population needs greater specificity.

(6) Consideration should be given the question whether it is more proper for vocational rehabilitation or for corrections to provide maintenance.

(7) In any event, emergency services must be flexible and provided immediately at the point of need.

(8) The offender client and his family should be treated as a unit, rather than services being provided to the client alone.

(9) Correctional rehabilitation programs of the future should anticipate that the rehabilitation of public offenders will be expensive and will demand more time than non-offender clientele.

(10) Such programs should also anticipate that their counselors will be virtually forced into a new perspective of the counselor role, that in addition to their traditional function as builders of vocational opportunity, they will be required to emerge as change agents themselves. Therefore counselor selection should be afforded careful consideration.

CHAPTER V "SATURDAY'S CHILD WORKS HARD FOR A LIVING"

Given the rehabilitation results that occurred with FOR techniques, we conclude that:

(1) Since 81 per cent of the experimental group were provided service and 42 per cent of the total number were closed successfully, public offenders can be served by vocational rehabilitation.

(2) The employment of standard referral systems and feasibility evaluations greatly reduced the number of potential rehabilitations and only slightly enhances the proportion of rehabilitations in active caseloads.

Hence we recommend that:

(1) Since referral systems preclude assistance for many offenders who could otherwise benefit from vocational rehabilitation services, they should not be relied upon alone in client selection.

(2) In considering public offenders, for vocational rehabilitation services, eligibility should be automatically established on the basis of conviction alone.

(3) Since feasibility evaluations applied to public offenders are inaccurate in predicting success, they should be discontinued.

CHAPTER VI REFLECTIONS IN A GIMLET EYE

Given the correctional and vocational outcomes which occurred as a result of FOR treatment, we conclude that:

(1) Since the comparison of experimental to control clients did not reveal significant differences in outcome, either in the areas of recidivism or employment, it is necessary to conclude, given the basis of FOR data and analytical limitations, that vocational rehabilitation services do not have a positive impact on the performance of public offenders.

(2) However, when project sub-divisions are utilized to control *some* variations in offender characteristics and treatment, a certain measure of positive impact is revealed, particularly with reference to employment outcome in those projects that began services during the pre-release institutional stage.

Hence we recommend that:

(1) The quality of our performance indices be improved, by all means, never neglecting the relative measurement of improvement in favor of absolute success.

(2) Control for systems effects on performance should be instituted.

(3) Treatment strategies should be specified in advance so as to minimize undesirable variation.

(4) The future of vocational rehabilitation services for public offenders should not be influenced by this study alone; the FOR experiment should be seen as no more than an integral segment in the exacting process of defining correctional rehabilitation.

We submit the contention that the FOR story is not one of failure. It is our desire that it be reviewed as having something to offer and that it be accepted as a bench mark in the exploration of a poorly charted psycho-sociological terrain. We fervently hope that responsible persons will closely examine our deficiencies and the record of unexpected problems which we encountered in so many areas – and so profit. In short, our summation is aimed at those personalities who thrive upon doing better than their predecessors. If this advocacy kindles interest and another expedition mounted, then we hope the above recommendations will be carefully noted.

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APPENDIX A

DESCRIPTION OF METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND PROCEDURES

INTRODUCTION

Methodological information is traditionally scattered throughout the body of a report such as this; the FOR staff chose not to do that. We assumed that most practitioners found methodological material less than interesting, that they were interested in the substantive conclusions based on the methodology and not the methodology itself. This appendix is designed for those of whatever persuasion who are interested in the detail of our methods, more detail than they could glean from the body of the report. There are six sections to this appendix: one is simply the grant narrative, i.e. the description of the original design; the next deals with the attributes of the population; the third with systems attributes; the fourth with the independent variable, treatment; the fifth with the dependent variable, performance; the sixth with the analytical procedures used; and finally, there is a summary and recommendations portion. The purpose of this appendix is to tell what was planned in each of these areas, to describe what was actually done and to indicate what we believe should have been done.

THE DESIGN

The research design, as included here, is as it was set out originally in the grant narrative submitted with the request for funds in the summer of 1965. It defines the system to be examined and is relatively simple in its approach, stating that an assessment is to be made of the variation in performance attributable to having VR treatment or not having it. The research did not remain as stated in the original grant request, but was adapted as the problems became clearer. Unfortunately, the data required by the revised design had not always been specified by the original. To obtain the newly required data often meant back-tracking, re-reading reports, filling out new forms on already closed clients and was not always practical. The original design should be read with attention to these limits.

FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH PROGRAM RESEARCH DESIGN – ORIGINAL GRANT NARRATIVE

PURPOSE

This is a collaborative research study, the purpose of which is to test and demonstrate the effects of providing intensive vocational rehabilitation services to federal offenders at specified stages in the correctional process. Clients for this program will be randomly divided into demonstration and control groups. Included in these groups will be those offenders normally eligible for vocational rehabilitation services under Federal-State criteria because of physical or mental handicaps, plus those with social handicaps who are not otherwise eligible. The specific objectives are:

A. To determine the needs of federal offenders for vocational rehabilitation services according to their physical, mental, or social handicaps.

B. To provide intensive vocational rehabilitation services to federal offenders who have been randomly assigned to demonstration groups.

C. To develop measures of success of "intensive" versus "current" services in the vocational rehabilitation of federal offenders.

D. To develop related studies and take advantage of research opportunities as they appear in the planning of data collection and in data analysis.

E. To study the impact of providing intensive rehabilitation services to offenders upon the attitudes and practices of the professional staff in various agencies involved in the correctional process.

F. To develop recommendations for changes in administrative procedures and public laws relating to the correctional and rehabilitation fields.

TYPE: Collaborative research and demonstration

The participating agencies are the Federal Bureau of Prisons, the U. S. Probation System, the U. S. Parole Board, and the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration. The operating agencies will be the selected state agencies affiliated with the VRA.

The collaborative process will also be extended across areas of professional specialization such as parole, probation, vocational, social, physical, and mental rehabilitation.

The developmental nature of the collaborative research process includes the following ten phases as applied to this program:

Phase I: VRA selects an area of research needing investigation.

Phase II: VRA selects an agency meeting predetermined criteria to direct overall research.

Phase III: VRA selects other participating agencies and makes initial contacts with these agencies on broad general terms.

Phase IV: Directing agency prepares overall research design and designates the role of each participating agency.

Phase V: Directing agency prepares tentative guidelines and supplies these with specific instructions to each participating agency.

Phase VI: Each participating agency prepares the Grant Application for its project.

Phase VII: Each agency and the directing agency presents the Grant Application for its project within established deadlines to VRA for review and approval action.

Phase VIII: All participating agencies begin projects on the same date. Data collection, analysis, and evaluation for all projects will be centralized in the directing agency.

Phase IX: All administrative procedures relative to VRA grants will be followed and additional data will be furnished to the directing agency to provide a basis for comparison of individuals, techniques, procedures, and methods.

Phase X: Directing agency will prepare comprehensive report of whole program.

JUSTIFICATION

A. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Criminal offenders have long been known to experience difficulties in vocational adjustment. They typically have a history of irregular employment, and the acquisition of criminal status further limits their employability. Such offenders present a wide variety of handicaps, the variety being especially great in a population drawn from all regions of the United States. Although most of their handicaps appear to be remediable, such offenders are frequently ineligible for rehabilitation services, and they are, in any case, disinclined to utilize to the full such services as may be available to them. This project will provide intensive vocational rehabilitation services to a randomly selected number of such offenders in order to evaluate the effectiveness of such services.

B. SALIENCY OF THE PROBLEM ACROSS THE UNITED STATES

The necessity of having a well-organized empirical investigation comparing intensive and current rehabilitation services has been pointed out by several researchers in recent years. The two principal studies to be cited here indicate that this is a general need not restricted to any particular locale or region of the country.

Studies by Glaser and by Brewer have revealed that federal offenders who have been incarcerated tend to be over-optimistic as to their adjustment to law-abiding society upon release. These studies indicate that motivation for this kind of adjustment is high among incarcerated federal offenders.

A conclusion reached by Glaser in his detailed study of the federal prison system was that, "The prison employee who has the greatest reformative influence on an offender is the one who is able to demonstrate sincere and sustained concern for and confidence in the offender's rehabilitation."[1]

This conclusion, based on a study of prisons in several states, not only points to the need for services prior to the offender's release, but also to the need for evaluating the effectiveness of rehabilitation services as now practiced as compared to "intensive" services.

While compatible with Glaser's findings, Brewer's study of federal offenders in Georgia and Florida also found that a large percentage of those desiring rehabilitation assistance and those who gave most promise of benefiting from this assistance were denied assistance. Denial of assistance was made on the basis that under Federal-State criteria, rehabilitation services can be rendered only to the physically or mentally handicapped. Even though these persons were motivated to receive and could benefit from rehabilitation services they were denied them, thus increasing the probability of their being re-arrested, re-convicted, and re-incarcerated.

This points out the need to extend rehabilitation services to federal offenders who are socially handicapped even though they may not have an identifiable physical or mental disability. Brewer concluded, "There is a need for additional assistance to prisoners in post-release rehabilitation and to probationers and parolees during their terms."[2]

[1] Daniel Glaser, *The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System* (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1964).

[2] Earl D. C. Brewer, *A Vocational Rehabilitation Study of Prisoners, Probationers and Parolees*, Final Report of VRA Grant No. SAV-1036-64 (Atlanta: Emory University, 1964).

These studies outline the need to compare current and intensive services at various stages of the correctional process. This need has long been felt by correctional and rehabilitation personnel across the country and is not confined to any one region. In the following section we shall indicate in some detail exactly how such an investigation may contribute to knowledge in the field of rehabilitation.

C. SPECIFIC CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE IN THE FIELD OF REHABILITATION

This collaborative research program is unique in that it will attempt to contribute to the development of knowledge in the field of rehabilitation through the empirical evaluation of the effectiveness of "current" as contrasted to "intensive" services offered to federal offenders. In addition, we need to know whether current or intensive service is more effective when given prior to sentencing, when the offender is on probation, when given prior to his release from an institution, when given while the offender is on parole, or when given subsequent to the offender's release from all forms of supervision.

Another unique feature of this research program is that it will have eight regional projects across the nation supplying the data with which to conduct the research study. The Program Director and his research staff will gather, analyze, and interpret these data in Seattle. The specific research contribution of each regional Project will derive from the stage in the correctional process from which it will draw its cases. In this way it will be possible to evaluate the impact of "intensive" versus "current" rehabilitation services not only according to the stage of the correctional process at which the client is, but also according to the region in the country where these services are provided to the offender.

There have been few investigations detailing the specific circumstances impeding the vocational adjustment of criminal offenders and even fewer inquiries into the special difficulties encountered in extending intensive vocational rehabilitation services to a population of criminal offenders. Exploratory analyses of the data generated by the present Program will make it possible to investigate clues which might suggest further improvement of vocational rehabilitation services for this specialized population.

In short, this collaborative research program will contribute to knowledge in the field of rehabilitation by means of a nationwide field experiment which will empirically assess the effectiveness of alternative types of rehabilitation services under alternative conditions.

METHODOLOGY

A. PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

An office will be established in Seattle to administer and coordinate the activities of the eight satellite projects located within seven separate states in seven VRA regions. The personnel at the Seattle office will include the Program Director, the Program Research Director, the Program Consultants, the Program Observer, the Program Secretary, and the Program Clerk. The planning and coordination required to obtain comparable information from eight satellite projects will be the responsibility of the Program Director. Each satellite Project Director will be responsible for the preparation of the VRA Grant Application for his Project, Project staffing, and reporting as required by the VRA and the Program Director. Each Project Director will interpret his own project in the light of local circumstances when he makes his progress and final reports.

B. DESIGN FOR FIELD EXPERIMENT

The basic purpose of this field experiment is to assess the effectiveness of alternative types of rehabilitation services under alternative conditions. In order to answer this question on a sound empirical research basis, it is necessary to decompose the problem into its component parts as follows: a. We must ascertain what is meant by the term "federal offenders." b. We must differentiate between "current" and "intensive" services. c. We must distinguish between "initial" and "subsequent" case classification. d. We must denote the specific stages in the correctional process from which cases will be drawn for this study, and how these cases will be assigned to experimental categories. e. We shall graphically describe the experimental comparative design which will be employed in the analysis. f. It is also necessary for us to specify a set of criteria by which effectiveness will be assessed. g. We must specify a plan for the selection of clients.

1. Definition of Federal Offender

In the present context, the term "federal offender" connotes a variety of dual statuses which a person may have with respect to federal legal processes and to stages in the correctional process. A person may become a federal offender by being convicted in a federal court for violation of a federal law. A person may also become a federal offender by being convicted in a military court for violation of martial law. Thus, the term "federal offender" refers to an inclusive status with respect to federal legal processes which is entered into by a person upon conviction.

2. Types of Services to be provided

At the point of conviction the federal offender is ready to enter the correctional process which may be divided into three principal stages: pre-sentence, sentence, and post-sentence. Currently, rehabilitation services of various kinds are rendered to the federal offender at each of these stages. "Current" services at each of these stages vary according to the caseload of the officer having responsibility for the case, the saliency of the needs of the case, cost incurred by the responsible agency in attempting to meet these needs, and whether or not the offender himself actually asks for service.

In this Program, by contrast, a number of federal offenders selected according to specified criteria will be subjected to "intensive" rehabilitation services beginning at varying stages in the correctional process. By "intensive" services is meant that (a) a specially designated vocational rehabilitation officer will give special attention to these cases, (b) his caseload will be such as to make it possible to assess even the less salient needs of the case, (c) the Project will underwrite the appropriate rehabilitation services required without regard to their cost, and (d) service will be offered and provided to the case whether or not the offender himself asks for it initially. Determination of such services needed will be the professional responsibility of the counselor. It is anticipated that services to offenders will be intensive to the extent necessary to re-establish them in a productive and law-abiding role in society. Services rendered to these cases may include, but are not limited to, the following: AMENDED March 17, 1967 to read: it is anticipated that services to offenders will be intensive to the extent necessary to re-establish them in a productive and law-abiding role in society. Rehabilitation services may be provided to intensive service cases and to their dependents, provided, that services to dependents of intensive service cases may only be rendered when the dependents meet the eligibility requirements in section I. D. 2.d. 4) b) (6) of this plan (see page 15). These services may include, but are not limited to the following:

a. Motivation contacts. The counselor will exercise his own initiative to generate interest in rehabilitation on the part of the offender.

b. Medical diagnosis as needed to assess the nature and degree of disability or limitations.

c. Individual vocational counseling and guidance, including psychological testing, to help select and attain a vocational objective.

d. Personal adjustment counseling prior to and during the rehabilitation process.

e. Pre-vocational, vocational, or academic training considered necessary to reduce a social handicap in order to attain the vocational objective selected and agreed upon during counseling.

f. Maintenance and transportation during treatment, training, and any other phase of actual rehabilitation process, including a period not to exceed 60 days while the evaluative process is being conducted.

g. Medical, surgical, psychiatric and hospital services to remove or reduce a condition that causes a physical or mental vocational handicap.

h. Prosthetic appliances as necessary to successfully compete in the vocational objective selected.

i. Tools, equipment, initial stocks including livestock and occupational and business licenses are supplied if these are necessary to fit the individual for remunerative employment.

j. Placement services as necessary, considering the individual's physical, mental, and social handicaps in relation to the vocational objective selected.

k. Follow-up service as required to assure rehabilitation.

3. Initial Classification of cases

Prior to assigning a particular case either to "current" or to "intensive" rehabilitation service, it will be necessary to make an initial classification as to the rehabilitation needs of the particular offender. This will be done by the project officer first receiving a case and before coming into contact with the person about to enter the monitoring (data collection) system to be set up by the Program. Four initial classifications of the case will be possible: not eligible to monitoring by the Program because case fails to meet certain specified criteria (detailed below), eligible and likely to benefit from rehabilitation services, eligible but indeterminate as to likelihood of benefit from services, and eligible but not likely to benefit from services. Initial classifications will constitute one of the variables in the experimental design. However, it should be noted that cases will be randomly assigned (under "determination of eligibility") to "demonstration" and "control" categories in the experimental design without regard to initial classification. The purpose of initial classification is to assess empirically the validity of initial impressions made by counselors when looking only at a person's file record.

4. Specification of stages in the correctional process: Selection of clients

The overall objective of the Program is to compare the effectiveness of "current" versus "intensive" rehabilitation services. However, in order to evaluate unambiguously the effectiveness of these services on an empirical research basis, it is necessary to specify at what stage of the correctional process these comparisons are made. The Program will draw cases from four stages in the correctional process: pre-sentence, probation, pre-release, post-release. Some cases will be picked up for monitoring by the Program prior to their actually being sentenced; that is, at the time the pre-sentence report is written. Therefore, it is possible that some cases will be selected for either "current" or "intensive" rehabilitation services although they are not sentenced, receive a suspended sentence or some other kind of non-sentence determination.

Other cases will be picked up immediately upon the case being assigned to probation, while others will not be picked up until after the case has been on probation for two to six months. Some cases who have been sentenced to an institution will be picked up during their incarceration. A final category of cases which have been sentenced to institutions will not be picked up until the time of their release on parole, mandatory release, or termination of sentence.

Eight regional Projects will provide cases from varying stages of the correctional process according to the following three plans:

a. Plan A

Under this plan monitoring of cases will begin as soon as a case is received at the probation office. Cases will include eligible probationers and releasees only; no pre-sentence cases will be included. The vocational counselor will be attached to the probation and parole office. The counselor will review the case as soon as it is received in the office in order to make the initial classification. Four regional Projects will provide data concerning cases under this plan: Atlanta, Chicago, Raleigh and Seattle.

b. Plan B

Under this plan monitoring of cases will begin two to six months after the case has been assigned to the probation office. Cases will include eligible probationers and releasees only; no pre-sentence cases will be included. The vocational counselor will be attached to the probation and parole office. The counselor will review the case two months after the case has been received in the probation office and will at that time make the initial classification. Three regional Projects will provide data concerning cases under this plan: Pittsburgh, San Antonio, and Springfield.

c. Plan C

Under this plan monitoring of cases will begin for eligible incarcerated cases as soon as the project is operating, for eligible pre-sentence cases as each case is assigned to the probation office. Cases will include eligible incarcerated and pre-sentence cases. The vocational counselor will be attached either to the probation and parole office or to the institution, whichever is locally appropriate. The counselor will review and classify the case as soon as the project is operating for incarcerated cases and as soon as the case is reviewed in the probation office for pre-sentence cases. Three regional Projects will provide data concerning cases under this plan: Atlanta, Denver and Seattle.

d. Random Assignment of Clients to Experimental Categories

The preceding three plans insure that clients who are to be monitored by this field experiment will come from each of the major stages in the correctional process. There still remains the problem of how to decide which clients are to receive "intensive" and which are to receive "current" rehabilitation services, as well as which are to receive no rehabilitation services at all. The method for assigning clients into demonstration or control groups will be the responsibility of the Program Director through his research staff. This method is spelled out below.

1) Consecutively Numbered List of Potentials

All Projects will list consecutively all of the cases which they monitor. Each Project will maintain such a consecutively numbered list. This list will be known as the List of Potentials. Each week every Project will send to the Program Director in Seattle a copy of their new additions to the consecutively numbered List of Potentials.

2) Determination of Eligibility

As soon as a case enters the monitoring system at any given Project, its eligibility for rehabilitation service will be determined by the Project Director. At this point he will indicate for each case on the monitoring List of Potentials either "eligible" or "not eligible." For each case considered "not eligible," the Director will indicate the reason(s) as listed below. All persons on the List of Potentials will be eligible for rehabilitation services except those who are:

a) Less than sixteen or more than fifty-five years of age at the time assigned to the List of Potentials.

b) At the time of inclusion in the list, residing at greater than commuting distance from the project headquarters. This distance will be specified by the respective Project Directors.

c) Aliens subject to deportation.

d) Under Plan C, those whose minimum expiration date is beyond October 31, 1967.

e) Females. Except for the Chicago Project which will be exclusively concerned with females and therefore will classify males as "not eligible."

AMENDED March 17, 1967 to add:

f) Not in need. A person shall be considered to be in need of services other than counseling within the meaning of this act who does not have resources sufficient to provide himself and dependents with food, shelter and such other items as are necessary to afford a reasonable subsistence.

3) Assignment into Factorial Design

The Program Director, upon receiving the monitoring lists from a given Project, will utilize random assignment techniques to allocate all cases classified as "eligible" into either "demonstration" or "control" categories in the experiment.

The Program Director will then notify the appropriate Project Director to administer "intensive" rehabilitation services to those cases which have been randomly assigned to the "demonstration" category. The respective Project Directors will instruct their rehabilitation counselors accordingly with the proviso that they are not to initiate nor administer any rehabilitation services to those cases assigned to the "control" category. Services are to be given *only* to "demonstration" cases.

It is anticipated that some cases which will be designated as "controls" in this research program would under normal circumstances be referred to the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration by the agency which has supervisory authority over the case. If *such an agency on its own initiative and discretion* refers the case to VRA, then VRA will administer whatever services it would normally administer in such a case. However, under no circumstances will the counselor assigned to a Project under this Program provide these services. Furthermore, should a case designated as a "control" be given "current" service by VRA personnel through the normally available channels, this fact will be noted and reported to the Program Director in Seattle. This will facilitate precise analysis and evaluation as to the effectiveness of "intensive" and "current" services.

5. Factorial Design of the Field Experiment: the Comparative Plan

The major experimental variables of the research program have already been specified in the preceding discussions. In this section a graphic presentation of the overall factorial design is presented. Cases will be randomly assigned to demonstration and control groups. Each of the twenty-four factorial categories constitutes a combination of the three major experimental variables: stage of the correctional process at which a case is picked up for monitoring, initial classification of the case by the rehabilitation officer, and whether the case is given "intensive" or "current" rehabilitation service.

BASIC EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

STAGE IN CORREC. PROCESS:	Pre-Sentence			Post-Probation			Pre-Release			Release		
INITIAL CLASSIFICATION:	B	ID	NB	B	ID	NB	B	ID	NB	B	ID	NB
DEMONSTRATION: Selected for "Intensive" Services	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
CONTROL Selected for "Current" Services	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24

In the preceding graph the symbols B, ID, and NB refer to the initial classification which the project counselor will make of each particular case as follows: B: Eligible and likely to benefit from rehabilitation services; ID: eligible but indeterminate as to likelihood of benefit from services; and NB: eligible but not likely to benefit from services. This factorial experimental design will allow each of the twelve demonstration categories to be compared with the corresponding control category. Thus, on a sound empirical research basis it will be possible to say that "intensive" service is more (or less) effective than "current" service when it is given to federal offenders at the pre-sentence stage of the correctional process, and so on for all comparisons. A note should be made to the effect that a separate analysis will be made of cases picked up at the post-release stage. The effectiveness of "intensive" versus "current" rehabilitation services for cases released under supervision and for those released without supervision will be analyzed separately.

The criteria upon which "effectiveness" will be evaluated will be called "success criteria" and will be discussed under the heading of "data collection." The extent to which "demonstration" and "control" groups vary on the success criteria will be empirically assessed by a variety of statistical models. Tests of statistical significance will be utilized to assess departures from hypothesized expectations which may be explained on the basis of "random" and "measurement" error. The factorial design will not only allow the use of simple descriptive statistics but will also permit the use of more powerful statistical tools such as analysis of variance.

6. Data Collection

Data will be collected on all cases in each of the twenty-four experimental categories. Data collection devices will include questionnaires, inventories, and other instruments developed by the Program Director and his research staff. Detailed directions concerning the use of all instruments and procedures connected with the program will be compiled in a handbook or operating manual which will be sent to all Project Directors. Data collected through these instruments will be utilized in assessing the effectiveness of both "intensive" and "current" rehabilitation services which are provided to all cases monitored through the Program.

a. Success Criteria

The effectiveness of "intensive" versus "current" rehabilitation services will be assessed in terms of the extent to which they are successful in re-establishing the federal offender to a productive and law-abiding role in society. Exactly what constitutes "a productive and law-abiding role in society" is an indeterminate concept of complex proportions. Although the following criteria of success may not constitute an exhaustive list, they are intended to reflect the underlying dimensions of the concept:

1) Non-institutionalization. The proportion of time monitored that a releasee spends without being re-committed to local, state, or federal institutions of any kind.

2) Regularity of employment. The proportion of time monitored in full-time employment (or equivalent in part-time employment). In the Chicago Project, an analogous estimate will be made for a woman keeping house for her own family.

3) Total earnings. The average monthly earnings by the client's own efforts during time monitored.

4) Economic independence. Evaluated by the proportion of personal support which stems from own earned income during the time monitored. (An analogous estimate will be made for women.) The proportion of the offender's personal support which does not stem from his own earnings (economic dependence) will also be assessed by:

a) Proportion coming from personal relations such as friends and family.

b) Proportion coming from public services such as state and federal welfare agencies.

5) Social participation. A composite rating based on membership in organizations such as churches, clubs, and unions and on the amount of time spent with non-delinquent persons (except immediate family) away from work.

6) Socially acceptable behavior. A rating to be based on number of arrests, seriousness of offenses, agency records, or complaints registered by others either to community police authorities, community agencies, to the counselor, to the offender's family, or to the client himself.

7) Personal alienation. A rating based on an offender's responses to an instrument assessing the extent to which he perceives himself to be alienated from law-abiding society. Available instruments will be utilized to assess the extent to which the offender has a generalized perception:

a) That socially disapproved means are required to achieve any given goal.

b) That he cannot accurately predict the future consequences of his own immediate behavior.

c) That his own behavior is not intrinsically worthwhile.[3]

8) General adjustment index. A weighted total of preceding indices.

b. Instruments for Data Collection

The Program Director and his research staff are in the process of developing instruments designed to collect data by which to measure the dimensions on which the overall Program will be evaluated. These instruments will include the following:

1) Questionnaire to assess the impact upon the attitudes and practices of professional staff as a consequence of having available a program which provides "intensive" rehabilitation services to federal offenders.

2) Questionnaires to assess each of the dimensions on which effectiveness of "intensive" versus "current" rehabilitation services will be assessed.

3) A data-monitoring system which will include a computer program and card code for storing and retrieving data on each offender processed through each Project.

Soon after the experiment began, the need for information on attributes of the population and treatment became evident. Already existing sources of this data were tapped: institution and pre-sentence reports for population attributes, and VR forms for treatment attributes. Many months later, several changes became apparent. For one, the impact of the experiment should have been assessed with a more sensitive measure of performance; for example, as a difference between performance before the experiment and performance after the experiment. Although population attributes could have been used to create a measure of performance before the experiment, background information was not in a form which permitted linkage between performance before and after. Two, treatment information was based on regular VR's conception of treatment but FOR was expanding that definition. The old categories encompassed several new forms as well as old forms of treatment. Since each project conceived of the new forms in somewhat different ways, categories did not cover the same activities across projects. Most problematic of all was the fact that treatment at the beginning of the experiment meant one thing and at the end, another; the effects of this change, as well as the effects of treatment multiplicity, could not be examined separately or with precision in relationship to performance. Three, the importance of systems or structural attributes became obvious. The various local projects, the agencies therein and the settings were somehow unique in their reaction to the experiment. These attributes were never systematically included. Other analytical problems will become evident as this appendix is read, suggesting further elaboration and adaptations of the original design. With these new perspectives on the problem of assessing the impact of VR services on the offenders' performance, we would now structure a design around the following skeleton: controlling for the effects of population attributes and systems attributes, the different effects of variation in treatment on performance difference scores would be assessed.

POPULATION ATTRIBUTES

The FOR population was drawn from a limited portion of the total federal offender population, since the administrative selection of field centers restricted FOR offenders to those under the jurisdiction of nine U. S. Probation Offices and three Bureau of Prisons Institutions.[4] The research design placed five limitations on the offenders selected: limits on age, sex, deportation status, residency and date of release.[5] Thus there was really no random sampling; rather, the FOR population surveyed included those who met the above conditions.

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[3] Melvin Seeman, "Alienation and Social Learning in a Reformatory," *The American Sociological Review*, Vol. 69 (November, 1963) 270-284.

[4] The nine U. S. Probation Officers are in Atlanta, Chicago, Denver, East St. Louis, Pittsburgh, San Antonio, Seattle, Springfield, Illinois, and Tampa, Florida. The three U. S. Bureau of Prison Institutions are Atlanta Penitentiary, McNeil Island Penitentiary and Englewood Correctional Institution. A handful of women did come from the Chicago Pre-release Guidance Center.

The following information on population data collected answers three sets of questions: What was done in the collection and coding of this information? How did the information and the decisions made about coding affect the analysis? And, what suggestions can be made about further use of this kind of information, or perhaps, more accurately, what *should* have been done with this data?

AVAILABILITY AND RELIABILITY OF INFORMATION

The Bureau of Prisons' institution reports and the probation offices' pre-sentence reports were the sources of our social and criminal history variables. These reports do overlap in terms of content. In fact, the pre-sentence report is used to some extent by the Bureau of Prisons in making out the initial portion of their institutional summary and classification report. A preliminary list of variables was developed and these two sources of information were checked to see if each contained that particular information. If they did not, that variable was eliminated except for a few which referred specifically to parole progress. These, of course, could not have been on a pre-sentence report. These two kinds of reports were then examined a second time to see if there was additional historical information available. The end result was a collection of thirty-five variables ranging from information on the current offense to total number of prior arrests, to age—specifically year of birth, to narcotics use.[6] As we prepared the forms which would be used to code these data for punched cards, we tried to develop quantifiable categories. This gave us several problems. With some items of information it was immediately obvious that the information was not in the report in a quantifiable form. For example, vocational rehabilitation is interested in the health of the offender client and health information was extensive in the instutition report, but very scanty in the pre-sentence. This is attributable to the fact that the pre-sentence investivation is based on information the probation officer can find in the community without his provision of services, such as a physical examination, whereas the Prison report can make use of the physical exam given an incoming inmate by a prison physician. Because of this variation in the two forms of reports, it was necessary to categorize information on health into four groups: health situation unknown; satisfactory; remedial defect or disease; and permanent defect or disease. There were a variety of other variables which were quantifiable in theory, but in practice were not. For example, we were interested in knowing the specific number of jobs held by the offender prior to this sentencing. This information was available in that detail as long as the offender had been stably employed in a skilled blue collar or white collar position. If, in fact, he had held a variety of transient jobs at any time in his employment history, the information was not specific. Frequently that kind of situation would be typified by a single remark: "variety of laboring jobs from time period 1 to time period 2." We also made a mistake, in the sense that after we could quantify the information, we frequently coded it in a grouped form. For example, education was grouped into grades 1-2, grades 3-4, etc. This was done, primarily, to reduce the number of categories in order to keep the variables to a one-column code. We now regret that decision which was based on our unsophisticated view of computer programming.

Elimination of variables occurred in two ways at this point: one, some variables were eliminated because they had been originally set up in a quantifiable form and we discovered that at least a portion of the information was not quantifiable, as in the example of number of past jobs; two, variables were eliminated from the analysis because information, even to make a subjective judgment, was limited, even though there had been no attempt to quantify the information, only to make a value judgment. An example of a variable of this type was information concerning family of procreation patterns both in terms of dominance patterns and economic patterns.

Because of the many judgments required of the coder in preparing this information for our use, we did several reliability checks. All of these resulted in some error corrections on the material already prepared for computer use so that even the latest reliability check is an underestimate of the percentage of agreement between two independent coders (these two coders were not ideally independent, because they were always the same people, each of whom acquired new perspective on the data, and they were both people regularly employed in our office. They did not, though, have before them the judgments made by the other person at the time they made their judgments). The last reliability test of the remaining 24 variables yielded percentage agreements ranging from 100 per cent to 60.4 per cent. In general, the variables with the highest degree of coding reliability, as well as the ones most easily obtained from the reports, were those related to criminal history. The variables with the lowest degree of reliability and also the ones most difficult to obtain from the reports related to social history. Some of the variables were retained even though the degree of reliability of coding was low. This was done by attempting to determine the judgments made by the primary coder so that our interpretations of the information concerning that variable would be in line with the decision she had made during the coding process. This was the case with the variables concerned with health, as well as addiction and alcoholic use; the latter two had 62.6 per cent agreement. We discovered that in a few of these cases our reliability improved if we combined some of the adjacent categories. This we did also, primarily by focusing upon categories in which there was agreement and which had more substantive importance to us. For example, in the case of alcohol use, the people classified as "problem drinkers" emerged clearly, while the difference between unknown use and social-drinking was unclear. Some of these variables we eliminated because their value to us was questionable and we felt that the coding reliability check raised some serious questions. Eliminated, for example, was the information concerning the duration of the last marriage and church affiliation. These changes raised our coding reliability to 80 per cent and above, generally to the 90 per cent agreement range.

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[5] For precise limits see the original grant request: "Determination of Eligibility," page 105, in this Appendix.

[6] Precisely, these variables were recorded on the card: source of information, offense data, number of co-defendants, legal status at the time of assignment, age at first arrest, age at first commitment, total number of arrests, longest single time free since first commitment, total number of prior commitments, total number of prior B.O.P. commitments, most serious prior commitment, time served on current commitment probation or supervision prior to assignment, number of times eligible for parole before paroled, parole progress as last reported before release, sex, year of birth, race, education, age at completion of education, health, marital status, number of dependents, number of marriages, duration of that marriage, number of jobs in two-year period prior to current commitment, duration of longest job in that two-year period, classification of last job, number of residential addresses in last two years of community, duration of that longest residency, marital status of parents and dominance patterns in family appropriation, economic pattern of family appropriation, church affiliation, military discharge if any, narcotics use and alcohol use.

TABLE 1.–RELIABILITY OF DEMOGRAPHIC DATA – A CHECK BY TWO INDEPENDENT CODERS

Data Items	Per Cent Agreement
Source of Data	90.0
Current Offense	93.4
Number of Co-defendants	100.0
Legal Status	98.9
Age at First Arrest	83.5
Age at First Commitment	89.0
Number of Prior Arrests	73.6
Number of Prior Commitments	87.9
Number of Prior BOP Commitments	92.3
Most Serious Prior Commitment	87.9
Sex	100.0
Age	98.9
Race	97.8
Education – Last Grade Completed	86.8
Education – Age When Completed	70.3
Health	71.4
Marital Status	83.5
Number of Dependents	72.5
Number of Marriages	84.6
Duration of Last Marriage	71.4
Religious Affiliation	60.4
Military Discharge	81.3
Use of Narcotics	62.6
Use of Alcohol	62.6

The problems we had with coding reliability and the decisions which we made to combine some categories to eliminate coding problems added to another difficulty. As our information concerning the clientele and their performance accumulated we became more concerned about the possibilities of showing any treatment effects if performance was examined only after the two-year period. At that point, we began to look for ways to deal with individual improvement. In other words, we wanted to create a performance score based on past performance, past in the sense of prior to involvement with FOR and a performance score based on the time surveyed under FOR. From these two scores, we could then make a difference score which would be, in effect, an individual's improvement in present performance over past performance. By this time, we had developed a rather precise and detailed present performance score in the area of recidivism. However, we were having as much difficulty dealing with present employment information as we had in finding precise past employment information. We attempted to use the criminal history information which we had coded to develop a past criminal performance score. Although this information was more completely recorded by probation officers and institutional caseworkers than was social history information, the combination of gaps in their data and our recording problems prohibited us from constructing a past criminal performance index that was as precise a differentiator as the one we had constructed for present performance. These problems of logical consistency meant, in effect, that we were forced to stay with the original design and assess present performance only. This, as will be discussed later, has proven to be an inadequate way to assess the effectiveness of the experiment.

We would suggest that other studies pursuing these same questions devise a method of comparing present and past performance in both areas, employment and recidivism. From this scheme, they should develop the specific questions which they would need answered to produce the data required by the scheme. Of course, these questions can only be carried to the limits of the data collection abilities. The other caution which we might add is that they should, whenever possible, retain the largest number of categories or the most gradations of a variable possible even though their scheme may not require so many gradations. This option leaves them open to flexibility and changes in their scheme. We would also suggest the same procedure of multiple reliability checks used here since we discovered many errors, obvious to us but not to the coder.

One further recommendation does not relate to how we handled the data so much as it does to the data which we had to handle. There was quite a bit of variation in the pre-sentence reports which we received. This is a fact which is not new to the probation office, but we were not prepared for the extreme ranges in these reports. We would suggest that further use of such reports carry with them the formal request that the report be prepared with the research problems in mind as well as the needs of the judge for whom the pre-sentence report is written. This process might even go to the extent of the officer preparing a report for the judge which is briefer, containing less data than needed for research and then simply from the investigation which he had done, answering the questions specifically required by the research.

The data available from institution and pre-sentence reports related to the criminal characteristics of this population was quite specific but somewhat imprecise for social-demographic characteristics. Decisions made concerning the data's transformation to punched-card form as well as the many judgments necessary in making that transformation affected the later adaptability of population characteristics for use in more complex analytical forms. The data retained in the analysis were as precise and reliable as they could be made to be. These were used to describe the population and will be used in the next section to demonstrate the representativeness for the total federal offender population.

The data collected on population attributes ranged from birth date to number of prior offenses. All of this information was taken from the Bureau of Prisons and/or pre-sentence reports. The final choice of items was dependent on availability, quantifiability and reliability. Decisions on the items to use and how to handle these items with computer programming limited the use of these background variables with similar information on behavior during the experiment; for example, we were prevented from assessing improvement in employability. We would recommend that additional sources of background data be explored. Social Security has information on employment which could be incorporated into a study of this kind. Further details on that possibility will be incorporated in another section of this report. We would also recommend that the present sources of background information, i.e., Bureau of Prisons and pre-sentence reports, be adapted to increase their precision and, hence, their usefulness in research of this type. We recommend that whenever possible quantifiable categories be used rather than subjective, judgmental, qualitative categories. We further recommend, in that regard, that these categories be maximized and any grouping occur in later analysis, not in the original recording. Finally, we recommend that usage of this kind of data and its transformation into punched-card form be accompanied by several reliability checks on the coding procedures.

The amount of information recorded by correctional agencies on background characteristics of the offender clientele is varied. The information available concerning criminal history characteristics is extensive and detailed. As will be shown in a later section on performance, there is reason to question the continued use of recidivism to assess the performance of this population. Instead, social-demographic information would have to be used either in place of, or to augment, criminal activity information. This change in emphasis would require that the social-demographic characteristics of this population be more clearly specified than they presently are in the information available through the Bureau of Prisons and pre-sentence reports.

ESTIMATE OF REPRESENTATIVENESS

A test for representativeness is mandatory before conclusions drawn from FOR can be applied to the total federal offender population. (Since data on state offenders are, just now, becoming available, we will make no attempt to examine differences between FOR federal offenders and state offenders.) Information on the total federal offender population is distributed across three official reports: "Federal Offenders in the U. S. District Courts;" "Persons Under the Supervision of the Federal Probation System;" and, "Federal Bureau of Prison's Statistical Tables."[7] Prepared and published as a yearly survey of the offenders coming under that particular purview, these reports are usually issued six months after the year's end. Because of this delay, we chose to take from one report the basic total population data necessary for a test of representativeness and since 1965 is the year during which FOR began, we chose the 1965 reports. We could have prepared trend data for 1965, 1966 and 1967, but the differences between the agencies' methods of approaching their primary data and our method made that compilation of dubious value.

These same differences in approach also affect the validity of any test for representativeness. The report on persons in the district courts describes those sentenced to probation or prison; our data include persons sentenced years before and now under parole supervision, so we did not use that report. The report on persons under supervision and the report on federal prisoners were more comparable to our population in that the coverage is of those on probation, on parole, on mandatory release with supervision or in prison during 1965. Even with that degree of comparability, we could not, within the limits of legal statuses, achieve strict comparability. The federal report on parolees refers to those on parole for the first time. Our data include parolees out for the second or third time as well. This is also true for mandatory releasees' statistics. In addition, our data include mandatory releasees without supervision.

The final limitation on this test does not strictly affect validity, but does affect its utility, that is, the paucity of the data. Between them, the two reports present data on six variables of use in this kind of comparison. These are primarily social-demographic variables: sex, race, age, education, marital status and two criminal history variables, prior offense and prior commitments. Only the federal prisoners report gives information on prior commitment and only the probation report gives data on education. Data on sex are of little use to us since all women were excluded, except in Chicago which had women only. (The two agencies also categorized the data into somewhat different sub-groups.) In the end, we chose to examine age distributions, using two large categories, twenty-two or younger and older than twenty-two; race, white or non-white; and, marital status, presently married or not. Also examined was current offense, serious (i.e. one that is likely to lead to imprisonment, more specifically auto theft, robbery, violation of the Narcotic Drug Import and Export Act, and violation of the Narcotic Control Act of 1956), and not serious, or all other offenses. These considerations also affected our choice of a statistic. We used a "Z" test of proportion.

In short, we could not do a test that showed whether or not FOR offenders were representative of the total federal offender population. We could only determine whether FOR parolees were like all federal parolees. We could not even do that precisely. We could only determine if FOR parolees were like parolees who had been released from serving their original sentence and we could only grossly compare FOR legal status groups with the total on age, race, marital status, current offense.

Given these various qualifications, a summary of the test of representativeness falls into the following four parts: FOR probationers are significantly more likely to be unmarried and they are significantly more likely to have committed a serious offense, in the majority of the cases, auto theft. FOR parolees should represent a slightly more difficult offender and, in fact, the FOR parolee is older than the total group, more likely to be white, more likely to be unmarried and more likely to have committed a serious offense. FOR mandatory releasees are significantly different from the total in only one respect, they were more likely to be unmarried. As for prisoners, since FOR drew only from these Federal institutions, Atlanta Penitentiary, McNeil Island Penitentiary and Englewood Correctional Institution, with the greater proportion coming from the first two maximum to medium security prisons, the FOR prisoner should be significantly different from the total federal prison population, and he was more often older, less often married and more likely to have committed a serious offense.

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[7] Administrative Office of the U. S. Courts, *Federal Offenders In the United States District Courts – 1965* (Washington, D. C.: Administrative Office of the U. S. Courts, 1966).

Administrative Office of the U. S. Courts, *Persons Under the Supervision of the Federal Probation System – Fiscal Year 1965* (Washington, D. C.: Administrative Office of the U. S. Courts, 1966).

U. S. Department of Justice, U. S. Bureau of Prisons, *Federal Bureau of Prisons Statistical Tables, Fiscal Year 1965* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966).

With the many qualifications imposed on the validity of this test, it yields more of an estimate than a statistically sound conclusion. Yet, it would appear that the FOR population represents offenders different from and perhaps more difficult to rehabilitate than a truly random sample from the total federal offender population would have. (Although this says nothing about how the FOR population compares to state offenders, the reader can make his own estimates based on his knowledge of a particular state system.) In drawing conclusions about the effectiveness of vocational counseling for all federal offenders, these distinctive characteristics of the FOR population will need to be considered. We can conclude that if this estimate approaches accuracy, then the FOR population put the hypothesis to a more severe test than a truly representative group would have and the findings should be applicable to other federal offenders in general.

TABLE 2.—COMPARISON BETWEEN THE 1965 TOTAL OFFENDER POPULATION AND *FOR'S* POPULATION

	Age ≤22	Race—White	Education ≤8th Grade	Married	Offense—Serious
TOTAL Probationers N=11,673	15.7	74.4	37.1	54.2	15.9
FOR Probationers N=489	14.5	73.3	20.6	43.5	20.4
	Z=.73 p=.46	Z=.55 p=.58	Z=7.56 p<.001*	Z=4.75 p<.001*	Z=2.72 p=.007*
TOTAL Parolees N=4667	21.4	74.4	28.9	34.3	43.6
FOR Parolees N=329	15.9	81.3	26.9	28.9	50.3
	Z=2.43 p=.015*	Z=2.86 p=.004*	Z=.79 p=.43	Z=2.06 p=.04*	Z=2.45 p=.014*
TOTAL Mandatory Releasees N=2975	6.0	68.2	48.4	35.0	54.9
FOR Mandatory Releasees N=219	5.5	65.7	52.1	27.1	52.1
	Z=.30 p=.76	Z=.79 p=.43	Z=1.08 p=.28	Z=2.42 p=.016*	Z=.83 p=.41
TOTAL Institutional Pre-Releasees N=12,982	51.3	73.9	No data available	46.4	35.8
FOR Institutional Pre-Releasees N=193	23.8	72.3		28.6	46.6
	Z=7.66 p<.001*	Z=.50 p=.62		Z=4.95 p<.001*	Z=3.13 p=.002*

*Significant at the .05 level, two tailed test.

RANDOM ASSIGNMENT

The FOR population was drawn, not randomly, from the total federal offender population on the basis of certain eligibility criteria, i.e., age, sex, minimum expiration date.[8]

The FOR population was divided into three groups: an experimental category, a control I category, and a control II category. The terms under which each of these was to operate was that the experimental category would receive treatment and the full array of data collection instruments; the control I category would receive the full array of data collection instruments and no treatment and the control II category would receive no treatment and data collection instruments would be sent to them only at the end of the two-year monitoring period. Because it was imperative to build up caseloads within the projects in order to conclude case service within the experimental period, the control II category became the category into which cases were placed if the experimental and control I category reached the caseload maximum of fity. Another limit placed on the method of random assignment was the necessity to insure that clients judged by the counselor as "benefit" would be included with no greater frequency than those that had been judged "no benefit." This also was not immediately apparent. The tampering with the random assignment method implied by these two matters makes it necessary for us to both specify the method used and to assess its effectiveness in providing highly similar experimental and control I cases.

The Technique of Random Assignment

The method of random assignment was tied very closely to the method of presenting lists of potential clients to the program office. The program received lists of names from each project. These were cases who had come under the jurisdiction of a probation/parole office or an institution within a set period of time; in plan A projects this was one week, in plan B's one month. In the plan C projects, the lists were made up of men who had been admitted within that prior month and were due to be released during the time covered by the project. It is not known in what order the institution lists were, but the list from probation/parole offices were either in order of the date the client came under the supervision of that district or alphabetically by last name. In no case does there appear to be an arrangement by either legal status or by the VR counselors' opinion of the potential clients' possible benefiting from the services offered.

Each list was sorted by the correctional agency personnel into the names of those men who were eligible for our services and those who were not, with the reasons for ineligibility such as age, residence or sex specified. These criteria had been clearly spelled out in the original grant request and remained largely unchanged. One change which did occur was in the size of the specified residency area. This was done to adjust the caseload of the counselor if it appeared that there would not be enough eligible clients in the original area. Another change occurred when it was decided that clients with detainers would be considered to have not met the minimum sentence expiration date. There were also some misunderstandings. These related primarily to what to do with transfers and military parolees. Some time after the projects began, we discovered that not all projects were including cases transferring into the district having begun supervision elsewhere. We also discovered that some projects were not including military parolees. At that point, we directed them to include all of these cases.

There were two changes in the specific method of random assignment made by the program office at the request of project offices in order to insure that the counselors' caseloads were the ones expected in that area. One of these changes occurred in Chicago where the request was that we do whatever we could to increase the number of experimentals; since there were very few women available the number assigned as experimentals needed to be as high as possible or the counselor was never going to acquire a caseload justifying her continuance. What we thought we were doing at that time was agreeing to discontinue the control II category in Chicago. In fact, some kind of miscommunication occurred among the research director, the statistician in the program office who did the random assignment and the counselor in Chicago: the control II category was not dropped but, in fact, got larger and the control I category ended up half the size of the experimental group. The other change made directly by the program office was for Springfield. The Springfield probation office and the E. St. Louis probation office submitted their lists jointly. Somehow the E. St. Louis office became over represented in the caseload. The counselor's own office happened to be in Springfield. Since they had considered seriously not including E. St. Louis at all, and since it imposed a considerable handicap on the counselor, they requested that we deliberately assign new experimental cases from the Springfield district office and to withhold assignments from the E. St. Louis office until the two leveled off. Since at that time Springfield had a full caseload, and new intensive service clients were being assigned only to replace men for whom services had been closed, we agreed to their request. In July of 1967, this method of client correction was dropped and eligible men from the E. St. Louis office were again included as eligible for intensive assignment. This technique did not appear to affect the assignment in terms of creating dissimilarities between the intensive and control cases in the Springfield project, in fact only a few cases were involved.

This gives us, then, three changes in the random assignment process: one involved the two changes which occurred in the program office's perception of how it should randomly assign cases (the one where the control II category became in effect the group of left-overs after the experimental and control I groups reached a maximum size; and the systematic use of the VR counselors' judgment as a part of the random assignment process); the second change occurred when local projects realized that they were not including on their lists the same kinds of cases that other projects were and attempted to achieve some similarity across projects; and the third occurred when two projects, Chicago and Springfield, requested that we deliberately manipulate the random assignment process in order to increase their caseload size.

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[8] See Original Design, Appendix A, page 105, for explanation of these eligibility criteria.

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After the lists had been prepared by the probation office personnel or institution caseworkers, and cases marked for eligibility, separate copies were passed to the vocational rehabilitation counselor and usually to the probation officer or caseworker specifically involved in that case, or sometimes simply to the chief probation officer or the chief classification parole officer. These copies were used by the counselor and that correctional officer to mark their evaluation of the probable benefit should the client be assigned to the experimental group. For the counselor this meant "benefit" in the rehabilitation sense; for the probation officer or the institution caseworker this meant essentially "benefit" in the legalistic (supervision) sense. These judgments were not divided into three equal portions, nor did the counselors remain consistent in their optimism or their pessimism. Thus when these lists were forwarded immediately to our office for assignment, we found an uneven distribution of benefit, indeterminant and non-benefit categories. We divided the lists into those the counselor thought would benefit, not benefit or whose benefit was indeterminant. Within those separate categories, we kept the same consecutive listing used by the office sending the list. Each of these three, quite differently sized groups were then assigned separately using a separate entry into the table of random numbers.

We ended up with approximately the same number of non-benefit cases assigned to the experimental category as we would expect given the total number of non-benefits, but the actual percentage varied considerably from project to project.

To do the actual random assignment, a point on the table of random numbers was selected blindfolded. From here, the statistician read to the right by pairs of numbers. The first pair reading from 00 to 24 inclusive was used to designate the row of numbers to be used. After the row was selected, she continued reading toward the right and the next pair between 00 and 39 inclusively selected the column. The number at the row and column selected from the table of random numbers then became the starting point for the random selection process.

From there, the random assignment method itself varied depending upon how many cases there were in the judgment category being assigned and also depending on how many spaces there were within the caseload limit to be filled. For example, if a group to be assigned had three or more members, she looked for the last two digits of each consecutive number of each case. Starting at the selected point on the table, she read to the right. The case whose last two digits appeared first was assigned to the experimental category; the second to the control group I and the third to the control group II. This assumes that the caseload maximum had not been reached. This process was continued until all cases in that category had been assigned. Since such a system starts with the experimentals being assigned first, and automatically returns to an assignment to the experimental category on each fourth turn, it resulted in more than one-third being assigned to the experimental category. If the judgment group consisted of only one or two potential cases, the starting point was selected in the same way, as noted previously, but instead of looking for the consecutive numbers of the cases, the pairs 01, 02 and 03 were used to represent the three assignment categories. The statistician then read to the right from the starting point and whichever of these pairs appeared first, that was the group to which the client having the first consecutive number was assigned. She then continued to read to the right and the second pair of these numbers selected the assignment category of the second case in the group. From November 1 of 1965 to May 1 of 1966, the designation 01 represented experimentals, 02 control I and 03 control II. From May 1 of 1966, to November 1 of 1966, the designation was 01 control group I, 02 control group II and 03 experimental group. On November 1 of 1966, the designations were changed to 01 for control group II, 02 experimental group and 03 control group I. This designation was used throughout the remainder of the program, during which time few assignments were made.

Assignments were made as described above in each of the projects individually until the counselor caseloads reached fifty cases. In the institutions the initial case lists which surveyed the total population were very large. Atlanta, for example, broke its original list into several installments. These initial lists represented all the men who would be expected to be released soon enough to participate in the program. The other projects, plan A's and plan B's, had lists which were fairly consistent in the number of new people coming under supervision during the given period. (There was some fluctuation in the number but the fluctuation appears to have been random.)

As the caseloads approached fifty, the selection method had to be modified since the method could have assigned more experimentals to that caseload than there was room. At the point at which there were forty-six cases actively receiving experimental services, the remaining spaces were assigned one to a case expected to benefit, next to a case whose benefit was doubtful, and the next to a case not expected to benefit; then cases were assigned to control group I in the same fashion, to keep it equal in size to the experimental category. The experimental category became, at this point, the sum of those in treatment and the sum of those whose treatment had been terminated.

Problems were presented by the possibility that the benefit category which should receive the next assignment did not appear on the current list of potentials. For example, if the space available was to have gone to a man not expected to benefit and no one with that judgment appeared on the current list, no one would be assigned until the next list (the man judged non-benefit would then go into the control II category). When men in that judgment category appeared on the list, they would be assigned, using the method described above. With three or more men in the appropriate judgment group, one man would be selected at random using his consecutive number as described above. With one or two men in the appropriate judgment group, the procedure described above of assigning a category by 01, 02, 03, was followed. In that latter situation it meant that in some instances there might be an opening in the experimental category for a man from the non-benefit group. If there were two men on the list from that judgment group, either one of them might be selected because they both fell into another assignment. In circumstances such as this, the space would be assigned to a man in the same group who appeared on the list the next time around.

When all spaces were filled, given the caseload maximum, new experimental clients were assigned only when a client's services were closed. At this time, a case was assigned to the experimental group and another one to the control group using the 01, 02, 03 designation method. Once the maximum caseload size had been reached, all men not assigned to one of the experimental or control I groups were automatically put into the control II group. This meant that the control II group was considerably larger than the other two.[9]

Due to this method of random assignment and to the small amount of information received on control II clients, the decision was made to exclude them from the analysis. Also to compare control I's and II's for a Hawthorne Effect added substantially to the amount of analytical work involved and the research staff did not have adequate time to pursue that problem.

Random Assignment—Its Effectiveness

In spite of all of the changes and the questionability of the method of random assignment used, an assessment of its validity across the total program leaves a good impression. Using 18 social and criminal history variables, as well as VR judgment and correctional agents' judgment, we find that random assignment created two groups statistically independent, using chi square, on all but two variables. Specifically, we ended up with more narcotics users in the control group than should be expected and with more people with health problems (not directly connected with narcotics addiction) in the experimental group than would be expected. This information comes from a check on random assignment done soon after it ceased in April, 1968, and did include four other variables which were eliminated from our assessment because of coding errors in our preparation of the punched cards, or problems with the random assignment method we used, problems we have already discussed. The two variables which involved coding errors were the total number of arrests and alcoholism. These errors have since been corrected, but another check on random assignment has not been done to specifically include them. The coding problems of the other two variables were project related, attributable in large part to Chicago who terminated with too few control I's and to confusion in legal status which resulted from the plan C's having more control I's than had been expected. Consequently, our legal status variable shows more institution pre-releasees in the control I category than had been expected.

Later, when we began to examine the effectiveness of random assignment within projects, we discovered more statistical dependence than should be expected. At that point, one has to raise the number of possibilities for random error considerably, but it does appear that in most cases of deviation from statistical independence, it is in the direction of a negative prognosis for the experimental category. There are some exceptions to this directional tendency. For example, in Pittsburgh, there were 16 cases of wagering tax violations, fourteen of whom were assigned to the experimental category.

At the time random assignment occurred, limited demographic information was available. On the list of potentials was the case number, the individual's name, the date of beginning supervision, legal status, eligibility, judgment, FBI number and court docket or institution number. The only information that could have provided prior knowledge for further controls on random assignment was legal status, but it wasn't used. The other variables which we had been using to assess the effectiveness of random assignment were not available to us in the early stages of the program at all. That data began to come in approximately six months after the method of random assignment had begun. Even if we had had further social and criminal history variables, it would have been an exceedingly difficult task to use these to randomly assign cases. We had sufficient difficulty using judgment alone. Obviously though, the method we did use did not result in statistical independence between experimentals and controls within projects. Yet, given our caseload limits, we saw no alternative, particularly when assignment had to be done over a period of time. The only solution to such a problem would have been to impose some statistical controls during the analysis to balance the differential between the experimental and control groups.

TABLE 3.—TEST OF THE RANDOMNESS OF ASSIGNMENT

Random Assignment	chi^2	df	p
Co-defendant	6.23	8	.70 <p >.50
Age at first arrest	.91	6	.99 <p >.98
Age at first commitment	11.26	6	.10 <p >.05
Longest time free	6.78	6	.50 <p >.30
Total prior commitment	10.39	9	.50 <p >.30
Total BOP commitment	9.36	9	.50 <p >.30
Most serious prior commitment	8.60	4	.10 <p >.05
Narcotics	20.78	5	.001 <p *
Age	5.52	11	.95 <p >.90
Sex	.33	1	.70 <p >.50
Race	3.35	4	.70 <p >.50
Education—last grade	1.37	8	p >.99
Education—age	3.34	8	.95 <p >.90
Health	11.18	3	.02 <p >.01*
Marital status	2.63	6	.90 <p >.80
Number of dependents	9.58	9	.50 <p >.30
VRO judgment	1.57	3	.70 <p >.50
PO/CCPO judgment	1.81	3	.70 <p >.50

*Significant at the .05 level.

PORTIONS OF THE POPULATION EXCLUDED FROM THE ANALYSIS

Two groups of the population were systematically and formally excluded from the analysis. These were the control II group and a small group arrested prior to the beginning of treatment. The control II's were initially included in the design for the purpose of testing the Hawthorne Effect, i.e., to see whether or not measurement effects alone lead to change in performance. Control II's were to have been given questionnaires and had their performance assessed at the end of the two years surveyed. Problems arose with this plan very early. For one, the control II category, as is evidenced from the random assignment information, became not a systematic or randomly assigned group, but in effect, a collection category for all offenders when the caseload limit had reached fifty. The other, and perhaps larger, problem was in simply collecting the data from these individuals. Since no attempt was made on a regular basis to follow them, those who had gone off supervision were very much lost to both the correction agencies and the VR counselor unless they had been reinstitutionalized in some federal institution. It was obvious that the rate of return for control II's was going to be quite small in relation to the effort expended to determine where they were and to get them to complete forms. If those whose whereabouts were known were often in legal difficulty again, our information on performance would be biased in a negative direction. Counselors were already having enough difficulty providing us with information on experimentals and control I's, and the research was having an equal amount of difficulty in processing that data. When we determined that our analytical time was going to be brief, we decided that control II's would be excluded from the analysis as one means of meeting the deadline.

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[9] The remarks above on the method of random assignment were prepared primarily by the statistician who did the task and come as close as she or I can to reconstructing the method from the notes that were kept during the process.

Another small group was systematically excluded because they were initially assigned in plan B projects. Plan B projects required the counselor to wait 60 to 90 days before starting treatment. In that interim period, he was not even to contact the potential client. There were a small group of people who were re-arrested and incarcerated in that 60-to-90-day period. Since they were never given the option of receiving treatment, they were removed from the analysis. Control cases with the same problems were also removed. There were a few cases as well who were expected to be released from one of the plan C institutions and, in fact, never were. These people were also excluded both from the experimental and control I groups. These two categories of the population, the control II's and those who did not have the opportunity to participate in treatment in the community, were excluded by decision of the research staff. Another group was excluded periodically because the information required in the analysis was not known for them. For example, a large proportion of both the experimental and control clients were so out of touch with the counselor and probation officer by the time that the two-year period had elapsed that the last fifteen months of employment data was not available. Dummy cards were actually constructed on these cases and they were kept in the analysis whenever possible. There were times, though, when descriptive information on some variables was so limited that it simply made more sense to exclude the unknowns than it did to include them.

SUMMARY

The FOR population represented a selected portion of the total federal offender population which was not representative of the total federal offender population and which was probably more difficult to rehabilitate than a truly representative sample would have been. Within the limits of the FOR population, cases were assigned to the experimental and control I groups on the basis of random assignment within judgment categories. This method of random assignment was affected by the problems of maintaining a fifty-caseload limit and a comparable number of cases in the control I category. It was also affected by the need to maintain an equal proportion of benefit judgments within both of those categories as there was in the total group of cases. As a result changes occurred in the method of random assignment over a period of time. Our ability to assess the effects of these changes was limited. When we examined the experimental and control I's within the total FOR population, we found that the groups were statistically independent. This independence, though, broke down when the two groups were compared within projects.

Exactly what could have been done to create statistically independent groups within projects is unclear. Certain portions of the population ended up being systematically excluded from the analysis. These were the control II category and people who were precluded from treatment either because they were arrested before it could begin, or because they were never released from the institution. A third group who represented a largely unknown quantity was also excluded periodically. We do feel that the data which were included in the analysis were good and reliable pieces of information due to our exclusion process, and that the whole process of selecting the population, randomly assigning it and collecting information on background characteristics was as good as it could have been under the circumstances.

Systems attributes were not systematically included in the analysis although we now feel that they had considerable effect on the outcome of the experiment.

SYSTEMS ATTRIBUTES

Systems attributes are here defined as structural attributes of agencies and project settings. These were assumed constant in the original design and didn't enter into the analysis, but we now suspect that these attributes contributed to variation among projects and would recommend that they be included in further studies of this kind. We are suggesting that the original definition of the systems should be expanded. Some of these systems attributes actually caused changes in treatment, we suspect. For example, as Chapter II indicates, the counselor's perception of the treatment he should give changed as the relationships within the FOR staffs changed. Other of the systems attributes actually intervened between treatment and performance: for example, resistance on the part of employers to hiring offenders affected the treatment population and control populations.

Since systems attributes were not a part of the variation to be examined under this design, we can do only two things: 1) we can show the way some systems attributes varied between projects and 2) we can suggest how the inclusion of data of these types would have strengthened the analysis.

Systems attributes can be looked at in two major contexts: the structure of the three agencies actively involved in FOR, Probation, the Bureau of Prisons and Vocational Rehabilitation; and the project settings which involves essentially the local environment — employment, criminal activity in that area, urban density, etc.

PROJECT AGENCIES

Probation Service

In terms of the probation office, we can assess some difference among the offices in terms of the percentage placed on probation. The courts have developed a method for determining actual use of probation as compared to the expected use. We have their figures for 1965 and 1968. The figures on expected use of probation would indicate that Florida has a much lower use of probation than does, for example, Pennsylvania. In fact, Pennsylvania has a much greater use of probation than expected figures indicate. In 1965 the Pennsylvania district placed 15.6 per cent more people on probation than would be expected, whereas the Florida district placed 31 per cent fewer than would be expected. That same year the southern district of Illinois, i.e., the court located in Springfield, placed 15 per cent fewer on probation than would be expected, but by 1968 their rate was average. The other court districts did not vary in their use of probation as extremely. The result, for a probation office of a greater number placed on probation, is proportionately fewer prison sentences and hence fewer parolees returning to their district. It also reflects the type of offender they are picking up. It should in turn mean that the district's staff has less work to do in alleviating the problems offenders have when returning to the community. In contrast, those districts which have a smaller percentage placed on probation would have a greater number of parolees returning and an opposite kind of flavor to the supervision which they have to undertake. The type of supervision problems for staff is only one system effect of the percentage placed on probation. There is also the general attitude of the court which, when more people are going to prison, is apparently more punitive than would be expected. This also may be transferred to that probation office.

Another known variation in the probation offices is size of the geographical area covered, the number of officers and the number of cases supervised. Here again, it may be difficult to do much more than speculate upon the effect of these variations. We had offices supervising entire states or relatively small geographical areas, such as was the case in Colorado and in Tampa, respectively. Most offices had five or six officers including a chief; however, Chicago had twenty-two officers. From what we learned from our various court districts, the officers supervised approximately the same number of cases regardless of the district. The only variation seemed to result from the geographical size of the district; i.e., the larger the district, the fewer cases supervised by any one officer.

Although data on size and percentage placed on probation is minimal information about the probation offices, it does indicate some, perhaps rather important, variation from one office to another and in fact, a variation which our study can do no more than report. It is impossible for us to take it into account because of the lack of statistical information and because of the "N" problem which sub-dividing even further on variation within agencies presents to us.

TABLE 4.–USE OF PROBATION BY FEDERAL COURT DISTRICTS*

Court District	Percentage Placed on Probation		Percentage Difference of Actual Use as Compared to Expected	
	1965	1968	1965	1968
Pennsylvania, Western	61.4	65.2	15.6	17.3
Florida, Middle	33.3	29.7	(–) 31.1	(–) 18.2
Georgia, Northern	51.0	48.4	(–) 5.4	.5
Texas, Western	36.7	42.6	(–) 7.8	(–) 5.3
Illinois, Eastern	49.6	40.7	8.8	(–) 7.2
Illinois, Southern	40.6	46.4	(–) 15.6	(–) 1.5
Illinois, Northern	45.4	43.6	2.3	(–) 4.3
Washington, Western	47.7	48.6	(–) 1.2	.7
Colorado	44.8	56.2	(–) 2.2	8.3

**Federal Offenders in U.S. District Court–1965 and 1968,* Table D8 Appendix.

Bureau of Prisons

Treatment within the Bureau of Prisons institutions involved in FOR is something on which we have more specific data. The Bureau supplied us a resume of the institutional education and training programs available in April of 1968. The following is essentially a report of that resume: In Atlanta at that time, vocational training programs were being conducted in machine shop, welding and masonry. In those cases where skills were already developed, the inmate classification assignments were made to jobs which supported and contributed to the maintenance of those skills. Academic programs were offered in basic literacy through college extension and/or correspondence courses. Classes were taught which provided for the individual differences of each inmate's academic level. The vocational training programs in Atlanta were in a state of flux during most of FOR and some of them were terminated. Still, in 1968, there were twelve part-time and four full-time academic teachers and four full-time and four part-time vocational teachers in Atlanta, covering a total population of 2,197. Academic courses attracted 527 enrollees and 197 were in vocational training. The academic program was costing $15,000 a year and the vocational $9,640 a year for a total cost of $24,640. As for industry programs, a memo of 10/4/67 from the Bureau states that in Atlanta at that time, the industrial operations "employed about 1,000 men in a textile plant, the mattress factory and the canvas specialty plant, which made mail bags and mail hampers." They also stated that they had offered special training opportunities in "masonry, welding, drafting, machine operations and food service."

As for McNeil Island, the April communication says: "Vocational programs were offered in electronics, barbering, welding and machine operation. Industrial and maintenance assignments were made to support and maintain skills already possessed by the inmate. Academic programs were offered from basic literacy through high school, and in some cases, junior college. Courses were structured to provide supportive education and developing and maintaining marketable skill levels." Again, in McNeil, programs to be made available were under question during the life of FOR. In April of 1968 there were at McNeil, thirteen part-time and four full-time academic teachers and nine part-time and six full-time vocational teachers. Out of the total population of 1,162, 265 were enrolled in academic courses and 231 in vocational. The academic cost was $15,000 and the vocational program cost was $6,145 with a total cost of $21,145. The 10/67 memo describing the industry program, states that at McNeil there was a "furniture reconditioning and an electronics plant employing 130 each, a sign shop employing 50 for a total of 310." Special training opportunities were "not significant." Typewriter repair training had been discontinued and vocational training was in transition.

Although Atlanta seemed to offer somewhat fewer opportunities than did McNeil, the institution which had the most extensive treatment programs of this kind was definitely Englewood. In Englewood, the April, 1968, communication states that "vocational training programs were conducted in wood-working, welding, auto mechanics, machine shop and small engine repair. Specific institutional assignments were utilized if the area were appropriate to the training needs of the inmate. Work study release is another resource utilized in the treatment of offenders. Academic study is available from basic literacy through high school completion. The program is structured to lend support to the occupational training programs." At Englewood there were eleven part-time academic teachers and thirteen full-time, no part-time vocational teachers and eight full-time. The total cost of the academic program was $14,000 with no cost for vocational programs. Englewood had a total population of 332, 307 of which were enrolled in the academic program and 196 of which were enrolled in the vocational program. The 10/4/67 report on the industrial program states that in Englewood the industrial program is "none," although there are special training opportunities in machine shop, welding, radio and television repair, auto mechanics, and carpentry with two full-time related trade instructors, ten full-time teachers, and a comprehensive daytime program of education.

This information on academic and vocational training alone indicates the wide variation between the two "maximum/medium" security institutions of Atlanta and McNeil and the youth institution at Englewood. Not only were the populations different, but the treatment they had received during and prior to the FOR program was also quite different. This is not meant to indicate that the Bureau expects anything else. In fact, they tailor institutional programs to the kind of inmate they expect to send there.

VR Agencies

Seven of the fifty state VR agencies were involved in the Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program. These were Pennsylvania, Georgia, Illinois, Florida, Texas, Colorado and Washington. We have information on three sets of differences among the agencies: size and growth from 1965-1968; kinds of regular service given within the agencies and kinds of client they served; and previous experience with correctional rehabilitation.

There are several ways to estimate the size of a VR agency. The pieces of data are available in VR Federal Reports. Specifically, size can be estimated in terms of budget (total section 2 and 3 funds, staff, VRO man years under section 2 and 3 funds), referrals processed and rehabilitations. Given any of these criteria, Pennsylvania was the largest rehabilitation agency represented under FOR. It is, in fact, the largest rehabilitation agency in the country. In turn, Colorado and Washington vied for the position of smallest agency. To illustrate this difference in size, budget might be examined (Table 5 gives figures on all of these items). In 1965 Pennsylvania's budget was over 12 million dollars, whereas Washington's budget was slightly over 2 million. In 1965, Pennyslvania rehabilitated 12,266 people and processed 33,469 referrals, whereas Washington state rehabilitated 1,177 people and processed 4,433 referrals. In 1965 Pennsylvania was operating with a VRO staff of 211 and Washington with a staff of 48. In the three years represented by FOR, all of the agencies took giant steps forward, regardless of which size criteria you use. For example, from 1965 to 1968, Pennsylvania's budget increased 110 per cent, Washington's 141 per cent and Texas' budget increased 250 per cent. During that same time period, Pennsylvania's rehabilitations increased 15 per

TABLE 5.–CHANGES IN GENERAL VR AGENCIES FROM 1965 TO 1968*

VR State Agencies Participating in FOR	Number of Rehabilitants			Number of Referrals Processed			Counselor Man Years**			Total Administrative and Case Service Monies**		
	1965	1968	% Increase	1965	1968	% Increase	1965	1968	% Increase	1965	1968	% Increase
Georgia	7,221	9,001	25	18,429	23,985	30	127.8	272.0	112	$ 8,433,097	$16,576,973	96
Florida	5,833	8,929	53	22,487	34,712	54	142.2	221.4	55	$ 4,331,821	$12,285,704	183
Pennsylvania	12,266	14,091	15	33,469	49,578	48	211.2	325.5	54	$12,223,368	$25,669,913	110
Illinois	6,011	11,563	92	15,288	27,490	79	112.5	221.8	97	$ 6,543,885	$16,666,666	154
Texas	4,505	8,357	86	14,279	30,031	110	171.4	240.9	40	$ 4,803,628	$16,830,776	250
Washington	1,177	1,619	38	4,433	8,523	92	48.4	75.1	55	$ 2,045,003	$ 4,937,381	141
Colorado	1,585	2,527	59	3,814	6,560	71	37.6	60.8	61	$ 2,529,186	$ 5,015,479	98

*Taken from *State Agency Program Data*, 1965, pg. 25 and 1968, pg. 35.

**Refers to those under "regular" program only – Section II & III Funding.

TABLE 6.–CHARACTERISTICS OF AND SERVICES PROVIDED TO CLIENTS REHABILITATED DURING FISCAL YEAR 1965

VR State Agencies Participating in FOR	Age ≤34	Sex Male	Education > 8th	Received Training	Received Medical Services	Length of Service >12 Months
Georgia	44%	46%	43%	14%	66%	30%
Florida	41%	58%	58%	28%	45%	26%
Illinois	55%	62%	64%	25%	43%	41%
Pennsylvania	58%	69%	69%	22%	25%	40%
Texas	64%	64%	61%	55%	22%	47%
Colorado	63%	68%	77%	53%	18%	47%
Washington	58%	71%	76%	56%	11%	54%

cent, Washington's 38 per cent and Illinois' ninety-two per cent. Referrals also grew rapidly: for Pennsylvania a 48 per cent increase, for Washington a 92 per cent increase, and for Texas a 110 per cent increase. Staff, of course, increased accordingly; for Pennsylvania 54 per cent, and Washington 55 per cent, and for Georgia 112 per cent. Obviously, this was true of most rehabilitation agencies across the country, but this tremendous change must have affected the agencies' ability to focus on one small correctional rehabilitation program, namely, FOR. The cause of this turmoil was that federal legislation changed the pool of VR referrals and in effect changed many of their methods of operation. Again, these effects were probably quite different in Pennsylvania than they were in Washington.

Not only were these agencies different in terms of their size, and their growth rates, but they were also different in terms of the clients which they chose to serve, using an average estimate, and in terms of the service which they chose to give to the clients. In the year FOR began, for example, Georgia had an older population than average for FOR states, more women, more poorly educated clients and primarily treated them quickly with the techniques of physical medicine. In contrast, Washington state had a younger population, more men, more well-educated clients and primarily provided them with long-term training programs. Consequently, the experience which these agencies brought to FOR from their regular programs was, again, quite different. There does seem to be a semi-typology existent here in that two agencies, Georgia and Florida, appeared to give more emphasis to the medical problems and less to the training (this is not absolutely clear-cut). Illinois, Pennsylvania and Texas seemed more like the average in every respect and Colorado and Washington seemed to give more emphasis to training; the clients therefore were different. This suggested to us an untested hypothesis concerning the adaptability of agencies in their response to a research program. We suggest that an agency making the choice to focus on a particular service rather than on "job placement" would run into more exceptions to the general policy guidelines than the agencies seeking some sort of "job-placement" orientation; that, in turn, the agencies that had experienced exceptions to their regular policy would have developed a means of meeting these exceptions. This experience would make them more adaptable when it came to a research project which is, by definition, filled with exceptions.

To return to the question of the variation in these state agencies, it is apparent that they varied in the kinds of clients they were serving before FOR and in the kind of service that they were generally giving these clients. Chapter IV, dealing with treatment, also mentions some of the variations that existed in terms of the money spent on the clients.

The third manner in which states varied was in the experience which they brought to FOR in the area of correctional rehabilitation. This ranged from Georgia which had begun correctional rehabilitation in the 40's, was picking up about 5 per cent of its referrals from the correctional agencies and had 21 counselors working in corrections in 1966 to Texas which did not begin correctional rehabilitation until 1966, but almost immediately had 34 counselors working in it and was picking up 5 per cent of its referrals from corrections; to Florida who had begun more nearly when Georgia did, was picking up 1 per cent of its referrals from corrections and had only one specialized counselor operating, probably the FOR counselor in 1966. The following table gives this information in detail for all of the states. Probably the only FOR states who could be said to have any systematic experience with correctional rehabilitation prior to FOR were Georgia and Washington. In the other states, any agency experience with offender clients came through counselors with a general caseload who accepted referrals from corrections. The individual counselor's experience would not have been forwarded through the administrative system in the same way as in a systematic program.

Information concerning the state of correctional rehabilitation in 45 of the 50 VR agencies can be found in Appendix H, a paper published earlier by FOR, "Correctional Rehabilitation, Boom or Bust."

The data available would indicate that VR agencies in FOR were highly variable in terms of their size, their rate of growth, the clients served, the treatment given these clients and their experience in correctional rehabilitation.

TABLE 7.–EXPERIENCE WITH CORRECTIONAL REHABILITATION BEFORE *FOR*

VR State Agencies Participating in FOR	Year Began CR	Percentage of Referrals from Corrections	No. of Counselors Specializing in CR in 1968	No. of CR Counselor Specialists Planned for 1975
Georgia	1949	5%	21	263
Florida	1943	1%	1	------*
Pennsylvania	1967	3%	6	50
Illinois	1954	4%	1	------*
Texas	1966	5%	34	75
Washington	1966	2%	13	30
Colorado	1960	3%	6	10

*Number undetermined in early 1968.

TABLE 8.—POPULATION DATA FROM *FOR* PROJECT AREAS

Project Area— City and Surrounding County (ies)	Population	Density per sq. mile	Population Change from 1950-1960	Per Cent Unemployed (in SMSA*)	
				1965	1968
Atlanta A & C					
Atlanta, Georgia	487,455	3,802	47.1	2.7	2.6
Fulton County	556,326	1,064	17.5	(A part of Atlanta SMSA)	
Chicago A					
Chicago	3,550,404	15,836	-1.9	3.0	2.7
Cook, DuPage, Kane, Lake and Will Counties	6,136,703	1,978	52.3	(Overlaps Chicago SMSA)	
Denver A & C					
Denver	493,887	6,956	18.8	3.6	2.9
Colorado	1,753,947	17	32.4	3.5	3.0
Pittsburgh B					
Pittsburgh, Penn.	604,332	11,171	-10.7	3.6	2.8
Allegheny County	1,628,587	2,231	7.5	(A part of Pittsburgh SMSA)	
Seattle A & C					
Seattle	557,087	6,295	19.1	4.8	2.9
King, Kitsap, Pierce, Snohomish and Thurston Counties	1,568,028	223	26.5	(Overlaps Seattle SMSA)	
San Antonio B					
San Antonio, Texas	587,718	3,662	43.9	5.7	3.5
Bexar County	687,151	551	37.3	(A part of San Antonio SMSA)	
Tampa A					
Tampa, Florida	274,970	3,235	120.5	3.2	2.9
Hernando, Hillsborough, Pasco, Pinellas, Polk, Manatee, Sarasota Counties	1,161,945	207	94.9	(Overlaps several SMSAs)	
Springfield B					
Springfield, Illinois	83,271	3,891	2.0	3.3	3.1
E. St. Louis, Illinois	81,712	5,921	-0.7	4.6	5.2
Project Area—43 counties	2,089,528	84	3.0	3.98	4.05
				(Includes 2 extra counties and excludes Springfield and E. St. Louis SMSA Counties)	

*SMSA stands for Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.

PROJECT SETTING

Finally, projects varied considerably in terms of the setting: the degree of urbanization, the level of employment in that area and the amount of criminal activity. These, of course, are not the only variables which might be used to describe setting, but they seem to be particularly pertinent to our study and ones for which some data are available.

Degree of Urbanization and Employment

The FOR program was conducted in widely divergent spots scattered across the whole United States. One project was basically located in the metropolitan region of Seattle, Washington; another encompassed the state of Colorado, but focused primarily on the metropolitan area of Denver; a third project included most of the lower third of the state of Illinois, including specifically the urban centers of Springfield and East St. Louis. Another project which dealt exclusively with women included the entire metropolitan area of Chicago, Illinois. There was still another project in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, including all of Allegheny County, and another covered the metropolitan area of Atlanta, Georgia. One covered a section of the Florida coast, centered around Tampa and the final project was in San Antonio, Texas, specifically Bexar County. Each of these geographical locations had certain factors which affected the outcome of that project, but which were essentially characteristic of that geographical region and not characteristic either of the agencies involved nor, directly, of the clients.

For one, the projects varied in the degree of urbanization. Obviously the southern third of the state of Illinois is essentially rural and Allegheny County in Pennsylvania is as urban an area as one could find. Of the metropolitan areas represented, Chicago and Pittsburgh were, by far, the most densely populated, Tampa the least. Again the project commuting areas around Chicago and Pittsburgh were highly urbanized, if density is an indicator, and the Springfield and Denver projects (with commuting areas quite large in contrast to the size of the cities at their centers) were the most sparsely populated. The Chicago and Pittsburgh metropolitan areas had a negative population growth rate from 1950-1960 and Tampa, the least dense city, had by far the fastest growth rate.

Of course, all these cities, given the kinds of industries available, had differing employment rates. Tampa, the fastest growing, also had the highest rate of employment both in 1965 and 1968. From this limited perspective, it should have been a promising area in which to vocationally rehabilitate offenders unless jobs were so plentiful that the client did not need to seek VR assistance. In turn, San Antonio had the highest, overall, unemployment rate. Although Springfield/East St. Louis were worse in 1968 than San Antonio, Springfield/East St. Louis did have a better employment rate than San Antonio in 1965. It might appear that these were the least promising areas in which to provide VR services to offenders.

Amount of Criminal Activity

The amount and kind of criminal activity found in a project area affected the opportunities both to hear of criminal activities to one's liking and to meet old friends in the same game. The opportunities which our clients found in the street in turn affected their possibilities of going straight. As one old con, retired a dozen years said: "Guys still come to me and ask me to go in with them on a job." As another example, the familiar and accepted nature of some crimes, such as moonshining, makes it difficult for an offender in that area to return to his home town and go straight. This effect doesn't just apply to the professional criminal. For example, a few years ago, Seattle would not have been an easy place to stay on drugs. Now, it isn't too difficult.

By examining FBI index crime figures for 1965 and 1967, we find quite a bit of variation among project areas in terms of criminal activity. For example, in Tampa in the reporting year 1967, the rate per 100,000 population in burglary was 1,573.5 whereas for Pittsburgh, it was a third as much, 550.4. Obviously, the possibilities of running into an acquaintance who had committed burglary is much higher in Tampa than it is in Pittsburgh. The following table allows the reader to see further diversity in other areas. One of particular interest for federal offenders is auto theft. A caution should be inserted here in that FBI crime index figures are based on arrest, not conviction and are profoundly affected by changes in police reporting and enforcement techniques. In spite of these reservations, these figures are included for 1965 and 1967 to give the reader an indication of one of the other variables affecting the outcome of this study that was simply too complex at this point for our formal inclusion.

TABLE 9.—FBI INDEX CRIME RATES, 1965-1967 (Rates per 100,000)

Projects Area* City SMSA**	Murder		Rape		Robbery		Assault		Burglary		Larceny		Auto Theft	
State	1965	1967	1965	1967	1965	1967	1965	1967	1965	1967	1965	1967	1965	1967
Atlanta A & C														
Atlanta	11.5	13.3	14.6	15.3	45.1	60.5	103.8	92.0	687.7	842.6	587.5	661.9	350.6	314.6
Georgia	11.3	11.1	13.4	12.4	29.8	37.3	147.0	128.5	487.4	591.4	317.4	385.3	193.5	199.9
Denver A & C														
Denver	4.1	4.0	19.0	28.2	84.3	105.4	88.4	109.5	817.6	949.8	547.6	693.5	345.9	435.3
Colorado	3.5	4.1	16.2	20.9	54.5	67.9	78.6	98.9	651.0	789.4	492.0	625.4	248.7	308.4
Pittsburgh B														
Pittsburgh	3.5	3.0	10.3	10.2	76.4	98.4	72.3	67.4	482.4	550.4	285.8	380.3	373.1	451.6
Penn.	3.5	3.8	9.7	9.4	51.4	56.5	72.0	63.6	413.5	483.2	200.6	242.8	218.1	232.8
San Antonio B														
San Antonio	7.8	10.1	13.9	18.2	44.5	58.2	182.7	196.7	986.5	1170.0	566.9	686.2	263.6	349.4
Texas	7.5	9.8	10.8	13.3	42.0	68.4	137.2	152.3	674.0	816.4	346.2	467.4	186.2	257.3
Seattle A & C														
Seattle	2.7	4.9	14.6	17.1	52.9	99.9	74.9	93.1	790.0	1091.3	574.0	897.3	258.3	425.8
Wash.	2.2	3.1	10.2	12.5	30.3	54.6	60.4	83.7	611.1	837.7	457.8	672.5	181.5	281.5
Springfield B														
Springfield	2.6	5.7	3.3	4.4	68.2	62.0	32.8	68.3	573.4	742.2	311.0	343.3	250.6	228.8
Illinois	5.2	7.3	16.0	17.9	164.8	200.9	136.7	168.3	550.3	608.5	360.2	428.6	379.9	421.7
Tampa A														
Tampa	6.0	8.1	12.9	11.6	93.6	138.6	197.7	182.5	1074.4	1573.5	558.3	785.1	193.0	292.8
Florida	8.9	10.5	13.3	15.2	88.6	130.9	188.6	233.6	957.0	1220.8	546.6	688.2	207.8	285.7

*Chicago is excluded since crimes committed by women do not follow these patterns.

**SMSA stands for Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.

STAFF ATTITUDES

Data were collected on the staff's view of their abilities in treating the offender client and on their authoritarianism and punitiveness.[10] On the first form, related to a semantic differential scale, the items of dependability, motivation, competence and likability resulted in a highly skewed distribution toward the favorable end of the continuum. Over-time differences were quite small and perhaps due to random variation. Again, the responses to the authoritarian-punitiveness questionnaire gave a skewed distribution. Favorable responses were given on non-authoritarianism and it appears questionable whether some items reflected authoritarianism; for example, "No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative." The punitiveness responses were less highly skewed.

Comments from staff members at the time they were filling out these questionnaires indicated that they felt the questions were transparent and they would not be so foolish as to answer honestly, even if they did feel authoritarian. Secondly, we got responses from several people saying, "I refuse to fill this out more than once since my answers could not possibly change over time." Evidence of this type led us to discard these forms fairly early in the analysis since, if they did not differentiate between staff members and measure what they should have measured (as would have been indicated by the staff responses verbally), they were of little value.

This discussion of some systems attributes which the research staff feel should have been included in the analysis, including the example which was originally in the design and was ineffective, lead us to strongly recommend that any future designs of this type involve some planned study of systems attributes.

SUMMARY

The project settings were primarily within the more highly populated urban centers of our country. Although there were no New England states involved, there were areas from all other sections of the country. These projects varied not only in terms of their urbanization, but also in their prospects for employability of offenders, and the possibilities for further criminal activities. Surely the incidence of crime, if high, makes it more difficult for a known offender to withdraw from further criminal activity, just as the incidence of high employment makes it easier for him to withdraw from further criminal activity.

As was mentioned earlier, none of these systems attributes relating either to the agencies involved or the settings within which they operated were systematically examined and incorporated into the analysis. This foregoing information represents essentially the only data which were collected on systems attributes. There was, though, one other set of data collected which became re-defined as a constant and which was, in effect, a systems attribute. This was the information on staff attitudes.

TREATMENT – THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLE

In the original design, treatment was defined as a) experimentals versus controls at b) three points of intervention. As the experiment progressed, and we acquired additional information, it appeared that this definition was inadequate. For example, the point of intervention seemed less significant than between-project variation, between-project variation being a combination of population attributes, structural attributes and treatment attributes. We felt we should try to expand treatment. In this effort, we were limited by the data collection procedures as they had evolved, by our delay in acquiring sufficient information about treatment, and by the time spent redefining and tailoring data collection instruments to our needs.

Information on treatment was not specified in the design, nor were any expectations expressed about the kind of data to be collected. This vagueness persisted for a considerable portion of the FOR experiment, partly because we knew so little about the treatment which was occurring that we could not be very specific in our requests.

Even though the research office did not ask for information of any specific variety, there was considerable conversation going on about what should be sent to the Seattle office. At the initial Chicago conference, Daniel Glaser suggested that counselors forward to Seattle what he called, a "case diary," a blow by blow description of the casework process with a particular client based on chronological entries made whenever something was done with or for that client.

Whether or not it was clear at the Chicago meeting, it gradually became the research office's expectation that the counselors would forward to Seattle everything that they kept in their own individual case folders. This would mean, for example, vouchers, the chronological diaries, cancellations of vouchers, initial interview forms. We did not specify when we expected this information. It did, later, come to be the assumption, on the part of some counselors, that it would be forwarded piecemeal. We had instructed them to forward other data on some regular basis, such as at the end of every month. Counselors following that procedure would normally forward any new treatment data collected at that time. Others forwarded it when a case was closed. In point of fact, not much material was forwarded at all, initially. And, what was varied considerably from counselor to counselor. There were two reasons for this. One was that the vouchering system accounted for all copies of vouchers prepared so there was no spare for the Seattle office, and the counselors, in the beginning stages, did not have available copy machines they could use to prepare extra copies for Seattle. The other problem was that many of the counselors did not keep casework diaries except in a sketchy manner, usually a few brief notes, written by themselves, that reminded them of past decisions and future tasks.

By the time of the Seattle Conference in May of 1966, we were beginning to get more interested in what was happening in treatment and asked the counselors to survey their experimental clients – 261 active at that time, none having been closed as of May 1, 1966. They were able to provide us with information on needs, the job status of the

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[10] Copies of these forms follow:

FORM III – FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

For the following statements circle the number that best fits your opinion of each statement as indicated below:

STRONGLY DISAGREE .... Circle 4
DISAGREE .... Circle 3
AGREE .... Circle 2
STRONGLY AGREE .... Circle 1

(Circle one number for each statement)

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1.	Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues people should learn ..	1	2	3	4
2.	A person who has bad manners, habits, and breeding can hardly expect to get along with decent people	1	2	3	4
3.	The best way to get most people to behave properly is to punish them every time they don't behave	1	2	3	4
4.	If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off	1	2	3	4
5.	Science has its place, but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind	1	2	3	4
6.	The main reason most people obey rules and regulations is because they are afraid of being punished	1	2	3	4
7.	Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down	1	2	3	4
8.	What this country needs most, more than laws and political programs, are a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith	1	2	3	4
9.	Physical punishment may be the only way to teach persons convicted of law violations how to behave	1	2	3	4
10.	No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative	1	2	3	4
11.	What youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country	1	2	3	4
12.	The main reason most people obey rules and regulations is because they want to, not because they have to	1	2	3	4
13.	An insult to our honor should not be forgotten	1	2	3	4
14.	People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong	1	2	3	4
15.	The reason most people commit crimes and break rules and regulations is that they have never been sufficiently punished for it	1	2	3	4
16.	There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude and respect for his parents	1	2	3	4
17.	Most of our social problems would be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked, and feeble-minded people	1	2	3	4
18.	Most people obey rules and regulations only when they are forced to do so	1	2	3	4
19.	When a person has a problem or worry, it is best for him not to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheerful things	1	2	3	4
20.	Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question	1	2	3	4
21.	No weakness or difficulty can hold us back if we have enough will power	1	2	3	4
22.	Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict	1	2	3	4
23.	Familiarity breeds contempt	1	2	3	4

FORM VI – FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

Below is a list of words which are often used to describe behavior. In your opinion, how would you describe your own behavior when you deal with federal offenders? Think of each set of words as having two extremes and circle the number which best indicates how you would describe your own behavior.

Confident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unsure
Hard-working	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Lazy
Friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unfriendly
Cooperative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Uncooperative
Qualified	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not qualified
Energetic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Easy-going
Likable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not likable
Loyal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Disloyal
Skillful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not skillful
Ambitious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not ambitious
Thoughtful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not thoughtful
Honest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Dishonest
Effective	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Ineffective
Interested	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Disinterested
Warm-hearted	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Tough
Dependable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not dependable
Practical	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Impractical
Daring	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Cautious
Sympathetic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unsympathetic
Helpful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Hindering
Expert	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Amateur
Forceful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Weak
Kind	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unkind
Trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not trustworthy

(Rev. 10-1-65)

client, whether he was in training, counselors' motivational problems and whether the client was in jail. This they did by answering specific questions for us, going through their files, either case by case or mentally. The information we received in that process was quite interesting, both what we could find out from the counselors' knowledge and what was happening in treatment at that early date. A portion of the report prepared from their observations follows:

"One of the FOR objectives is to determine the needs of the federal offender for vocational rehabilitation services. With VR's past emphasis on physical handicaps and the consequent need of the client, a much used facility has been medical and allied treatment. Eleven per cent of the FOR offender clients were receiving some form of medical services as of May 1. 'Medical services' is used here in a broad sense and covers regular medical and dental services plus specialized alcoholic and narcotic services. The counselors seemed to feel that regular medical needs are less serious for this group than what might be termed 'psychological or social needs.' For this reason, two projects, Atlanta C and Seattle A, have group therapy for clients, and most counselors have utilized psychiatric assistance.

"Other than medical or psychological needs, a second re-occurring need has been for assistance to families. This has been in terms of maintaining the family while the client received training. It has also been in terms of helping family members solve their problems: problems which impinge on the client. For example, one man's wife is receiving psychiatric help; as she deteriorated, so did he. A third need has been for legal assistance of a civil nature. One such case involved a labor union in a dispute over their withdrawal of a client's card.

"A second objective was to provide intensive vocational rehabilitation services to offenders. Immediately when vocational rehabilitation services are mentioned, employment comes to mind. As of May 1, 55 per cent of the 261 offenders were employed. At least half of these were working at jobs they had obtained themselves (some of the unemployed were still in jail in C Projects). Nine per cent were on jobs that the vocational rehabilitation counselor considered to be satisfactory, permanent employment. As with many offenders, three-fourths were in that sector of the labor force which included skilled to unskilled labor.

"Another common tool of vocational rehabilitation has been training as a prelude to employment. Fourteen per cent of the experimental clients in May were in training. Three-fourths of these were in some form of vocational training, the rest in an academic program. The vocational trainees were either in trade school (three-fifths of them) or engaged in on-the-job training (two-fifths of them). One counselor found that in order to provide on-the-job training the most effective way both for the particular client and the company was for the counselor to pay the company the man's salary and for the company, in turn, to pay the man. Seven-tenths of the experimental clients were either in training or employed.

"Another FOR objective was to develop related studies as the need appeared. One possible related study could be concerned with motivation. Motivation has been of tremendous concern to the counselors. They perceive these clients as difficult to involve in the program. Thirty-three per cent of all the intensive clients were seen as poorly motivated.

"Although it is, admittedly, for some of these counselors, a new experience to work with individuals who do not necessarily choose to come for service, the difficulties of reaching this clientele can be expanded upon. There are also those clients who cannot be found or who have been reincarcerated. Ten per cent could not be found and 10 per cent of those who were out of prison had already been reincarcerated as of May 1. Adding the reincarcerated, the unlocated and the poorly motivated groups, the clients who actually or potentially will not be served by this program give us an uncounseled segment which accounts for 41 per cent of the 261 experimental clients.

"To return to motivation alone, one interesting variation could be found between projects. With clients who were picked up immediately at a probation office or institution there was little difference in the stated frequency of motivational problems. With clients who were picked up after sixty days of probation office supervision, the stated frequency of motivational problems increased significantly.

"Another variation could be noted, not between projects, but between type of offenders. Parolees were seen as more difficult to motivate than probationers, yet more parolees than probationers were employed or in training."[11]

Perhaps because this information looked so promising, the research staff did not yet find it necessary to request specific information on treatment from the projects. It would not be long, though, until the projects would request something of the program staff which would affect the data collected on treatment. In July of 1966, the Denver project wrote, asking how to close a case. This was a procedure that had not yet been instituted, only implied. The design had said that a fixed caseload limit would be set. Behind that was the assumption that once a case was closed, it could be replaced in the caseload without affecting those limits. This was exactly what Denver wished to do. Although they had not yet reached their limit, they were interested in seeing a new client take the place of a closed case. The Denver counselor wrote to us, suggesting that a case be closed, but we had no procedure, no forms. In fact, the only thing which was available was the standard VR form called the R-300. This form is used routinely as cases are closed out from any status and it also records case progress.

In response to the problem presented by the Denver counselor, the program staff developed an adaptation of the

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[11] These were remarks taken from "An Overview of the Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program," a paper presented to the section sponsored by the Committee on Research Statistics and Planning, 96th Congress of Corrections; Baltimore, Maryland, August 29-31, 1966.

R-300.[12] Included on the form were questions concerning disabling conditions, job status, both at assignment and closure, the services given in terms of dollar amounts and arranged into the traditional VR categories, the number of counseling hours, and finally the reasons for closure. Also, there was a space at the bottom for a short narrative summary prepared by the counselor describing the closure situation, his signature and that of the project director or his casework supervisor. The information accompanying the form dealt with reasons for case closure, since this was primarily a mechanical way to insure uniformity in closure, and not a form for collecting treatment data. By January 31, 1967, we were sending lists to projects saying we have received no chronological reports on the following clients, etc. Shortly before that, on 10/11/66, we had received the first rehabilitated closure, an Atlanta C case. From the information on this first rehabilitant it was evident that there was not enough information on how treatment was being done. We initiated requests for additional information. It also prompted a discussion at the Denver Conference which was described as follows in the preparatory material: "The Tuesday research discussion is planned to provide some insight into client problems, particularly problems concerning clients which may lead to their removal from the active caseload." The end result of the discussion of case closure at the Denver Conference was the form 67-2.[13] Again, this form was not so much a data collection device, but a means of insuring uniformity in closure. The focus with the whole design, as well as with treatment, was still on the outcome rather than the process leading to the outcome. With the advent of this new form, the few cases that had been closed previous to its use were redone to insure conformity. At approximately this same time, some projects began to transmit all vouchers or chronological case recording regularly.

Since so few cases were closed at this time, most of whom had had no service, it was very difficult for the research staff to tell whether the information we were receiving was useful, or for that matter even adequate. We did check on accuracy of closure several times, but we did not check on the relationship between the VR material forwarded and our closure form. It wasn't until almost the end of the project when there were enough closed cases who had also received service that we could tell that there was not sufficient data. Much of what had already been requested was missing. What we had received in terms of vouchers and case histories, were not necessarily related to the case closure form which we received. For example, the vouchers would indicate an expenditure $1,000 greater than the case closure form indicated. The most problematic fact was that we could not distinguish the new and unusual forms of treatment which had been occurring. To take a limited example, job placement assistance is done internally by vocational rehabilitation, whereas many of their other services are "purchased services" obtained from other agencies external to VR. Only purchased services are recorded on traditional VR forms, although non-purchased services are mentioned in case histories if there are case histories. We had requested that the counselor's hours be recorded in addition to purchased service. What we failed to take into account was that the counselor's time could be spent in a variety of activities which we wished we could have distinguished. We would have very much liked to have been able to ascertain how much effort he expended in placing a client. We discovered that some counselors were doing little with the offender client other than placing him and offering him counseling about situations in legitimate society which the counselors found unsettling. But, it was almost impossible, from the forms we received or from the case histories, to determine if job placement had occurred.

This was true of a number of other pieces of information as well, some of which came under the traditional categories of purchased service. For example, maintenance under regular VR is primarily a form of income supplement given to an individual who is receiving training. In FOR, maintenance was used in a variety of ways. The one talked about a great deal by the counselors because it was difficult to achieve was the use of maintenance in emergencies. Emergency maintenance could be many things. It might be the result of a financial crisis, for example, the man who lost his paycheck. It could even be the result of a delay in processing a regular voucher. But included with such emergency maintenance under the category of maintenance was the old form of basic income supplement. Another problem in dealing with maintenance was that we could not tell from the information we had whether the man was receiving maintenance in addition to wages at any given time. As a result of these difficulties in attacking the traditional categories on which we did have data, we developed a form, which we called for lack of a better term, a job-assistance form.[14] We began in February, 1969, almost at the end of the FOR experiment to go back through the case history information for the purpose of correcting inaccuracies between the vouchers, etc., and our case closure form for the purpose of filling in this job assistance form. This proved to be a formidable task for two reasons: although only a portion of the 623 experimental clients had received extensive service, to unravel the details of their service for use in the job assistance form was a very time-consuming task; the other problem was that the counselors had not necessarily included the information which we wanted in their case histories nor did their information always prove consistent. Getting the information involved detailed correspondence with a number of the counselors. We simply could not complete these forms for all projects by the time we had to proceed into another analytical phase.

The end result was that the information we had on treatment was what VR usually had and reflected what VR usually did. We did not have information which reflected what FOR did. In fact, some of our information was misleading. Throughout this time, the VR counselors had been changing their perception of what should be involved in treatment but continuing to code it on the same forms. So, we could only pick up changes in treatment if they

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[12] This form follows:

[13] This form follows:

[14] A copy of this form follows:

FORM 66-3
6/28/66

FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

Client's Name and No.: Date:

State Agency Name: Address at present:

Town: County: State:

Column
11

1.
a. Previous service (check) .... Yes No
b. If Yes, date of last DVR closure:____________

12-13
2. Referral Source:____________

14-16
3. Disability and cause:
a. (1) Major disabling condition (describe)____________
(2) Primary cause (disease or other) of above____________

b. Secondary disabling condition (describe)____________ 17-19

20
4. Total earnings in the week before assignment rounded to nearest dollar .... $

5. Work Status (check one in each column):

	21 At acceptance	22 At Present
Wage or salaried worker:		
Competitive labor market	( )	( )
Sheltered workshop	( )	( )
Self-employed (except BEP)	( )	( )
BEP (State-agency-managed business enterprise)	( )	( )
Homemaker (own home)	( )	( )
Unpaid family worker	( )	( )
Not working: Student	( )	( )
Other	( )	( )

6. Job or occupation at present:____________ 23-26

27
7. Earnings in week prior to this report, rounded to nearest dollar .... $

8. Placement agent (check one): 28

Returned to or retained on same job .... ( )

Located own job .... ( )

Vocational Rehabilitation Agency .... ( )

State employment service .... ( )

Other (specify)____________ ( )

29-37
9. Case services provided: .... Cost
(Enter Y if without cost to V.R. agency)

1. By rehabilitation or adjustment centers .... $

2. By workshops .... $

3. By other sources:

A. Diagnostic procedures .... $

B. Surgery and treatment .... $

C. Prosthetic appliances .... $

D. Hospitalization and convalescent care .... $
(other than for diagnosis)

E. Training and training materials .... $

F. Maintenance and transportation .... $

G. Tools, equipment, and licenses .... $

38-40
H. Counseling .... $
I. Other (specify)____________ $

10. Reasons for removal from active caseload: (check one) 41

A. Inability to locate client .... ( )

B. Inability of counselor to establish contact .... ( )

C. Non-cooperative .... ( )

D. No need .... ( )

E. Postponement .... ( )

F. Death .... ( )

G. Adequate Social Performance .... ( )

Length of service____________

Remarks:

Signed:

(Counselor)

(Project Director)

F.O.R. Form 67-2
6/21/67

PROCEDURE FOR REMOVAL FROM ACTIVE CASE LOAD

COMPLETE THIS SECTION NO SOONER THAN TWO MONTHS

— Yes, go to **6**, if given address or phone no., etc. or **9**, if made first appointment.
— No, go to **2**

— Yes, go to **3**
— No, go to **4**

— Yes, go to **6**
— No, go to **4**

— Yes, go to **5**
— No, remove category 10a

— Yes, go to **6**
— No, remove category 10a

1. Met at probation office or institution.
2. Had address.
3. Contacted that address, by letter or phone, found valid address.
4. Checked with police and again with PO, found new address.
5. Contacted that new address, found valid address.

COMPLETE THIS SECTION NO SOONER THAN THREE MONTHS

— Yes, go to **9**
— No, go to **7**

— Yes, go to **9**
— No, go to **8**

— Yes, go to **9**
— No, remove category 10b

6. Contacted valid address by letter or telephone and reached client.
7. Visited valid address, found client.
8. Asked PO to have client see me and client did.

COMPLETE THIS SECTION NO SOONER THAN THREE – SIX MONTHS

— Yes, go to **10**
— No, go to **12**

— Yes, to any item, go to **11**
— No, to all items, go to **12**

— Yes, go to **22**
— No, go to **12**

— Yes, remove category 10d
— No, go to **13**

— Yes, go to **20**
— No, go to **14**

— Yes, go to **20**
— No, go to **15**

— Yes, go to **20**
— No, go to **16**

9. Arrange for further contacts.
10. a. Have talked with him by phone ——— times.
    b. Have sent mail to him ——— times.
    c. Have received mail from him ——— times.
    d. Have seen him at home ——— times.
    e. Have seen him on job ——— times.
    f. Have talked with him in my office ——— times.
    g. Have talked with him in the institution ——— times.

    (Implies more than once, 1st contact occurred in item 1, 6-8.)
11. Contacts continued without difficulty.
12. Now won't continue contact with me because we both agree after three months of contacts that he doesn't need my services.
13. Now won't continue contact with me because he doesn't think he needs any services.
14. Now won't continue contact with me because he doesn't want my services on my terms (won't take medical, won't keep appointments).
15. Now won't continue contact with me because he doesn't want my services on any terms.

This section continued on next page.

F.O.R. Form 67-2
6/21/67

— Yes, go to 20
— No, go to 17

— Yes, remove category 10f
— No, go to 18

— Yes, go to 20
— No, go to 19

— Yes, go to 20

— Yes, remove category 10e
— No, go to 21

— Yes, remove category 10c

16. Now won't continue contact with me because he is reincarcerated.

17. Now won't continue contact with me because of death.

18. Now won't continue contact with me because of reason not given elsewhere (please specify)

19. Now won't continue contact with me because of reason unknown.

20. Having tried to encourage his participation it seems advisable to **postpone** services for — months; an automatic review will occur six months from now, ———, at which time we will return to step 9 on a new Form 67-2.

21. Having tried for six months to encourage his participation it no longer seems worthwhile since he will not maintain contact.

COMPLETE THIS SECTION NO SOONER THAN SIX MONTHS

— Yes, remove category 10g

22. Plan completed and no further services seen of value.

Client is performing as indicated on check list. Counselor's estimate of improvement detailed in narrative.

Plus (+) — improvement over past situation
Zero (0) — no change
Minus (–) — deterioration
NAP — not applicable, may be used if reason specified

A. Client's making good use of abilities

B. Client's profited from use of voc. training

C. Client's profited from use of VR services

D. Client's profited from other community resources

E. Client's making sufficient income to support himself and family without problems

F. Client's making sufficient income to support himself and family with some luxuries

G. Client can expect advancement on job

H. Client satisfied with his general status

I. Client reacting well to stress, handles anger

J. Client not relying on crutches such as alcohol or drugs

K. Client avoiding problems with law

L. Client is a part of his community's activities — like any other square john of his type (specify)

JOB ASSISTANCE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Willing to receive treatment?
    - —— not applicable, can't establish contact
    - —— unwilling
    - —— can't ascertain/ambiguous
    - —— willing after locating
    - —— willing
2. If therapy received, number of sessions?
    - —— none
    - —— one
    - —— two
    - .
    - .
    - —— 98 or more
    - —— unknown
3. Frequency of maintenance?
    - —— not applicable, no maintenance received
    - —— weekly or more often
    - —— once every 2 weeks
    - —— monthly
    - —— quarterly
    - —— irregularly (not for any temporal period)
    - —— other (once)
    - —— unknown
4. Method of payment for maintenance?
    - —— not applicable, no maintenance received
    - —— directly from source funds
    - —— indirectly via counselor
    - —— indirectly via middle man
    - —— vendor paid directly
    - —— directly and indirectly
    - —— directly and vendor paid directly
    - —— indirectly and vendor paid directly
    - —— both ways indirectly
    - —— directly, vendor, and either indirectly
    - —— unknown
5. Lag from authorization of maintenance until receipt?
    - —— not applicable, no maintenance received
    - —— no lag
    - —— irregular lag
    - —— regular lag
    - —— no lag and irregular lag
    - —— no lag and regular lag
    - —— irregular and regular lag
    - —— all three sometimes used
    - —— unknown
6. Maintenance use?
    - —— not applicable, no maintenance received
    - —— transportation
    - —— transportation/lunches
    - —— other only (non-household)
    - —— food
    - —— rent
    - —— clothing
    - —— rent/food (and/or transportation and specific clothing)
    - —— all household expenses
    - —— others plus rent/food or household expenses
    - —— unknown
7. Maintenance type?
    - —— not applicable, no maintenance received
    - —— regular
    - —— regular, some emergency
    - —— emergency, some regular
    - —— emergency only
    - —— unknown
8. Employed during receipt of maintenance?
    - —— not applicable, no maintenance received
    - —— not employed
    - —— employed irregularly or part-time less than half time
    - —— employed part-time at least half
    - —— full-time (35 or more hours/week)
    - —— unknown
9. Counseling?
    - —— Number of hours
    - —— In-person contacts
    - —— Other contacts
10. On work release?
    - —— not applicable, not incarcerated (if reincarcerated, applies to reincarceration.)
    - —— no work release
    - —— on work release, but not at release (client's fault)
    - —— work release at release but did not retain job on outside
    - —— work release at release and retained same job on outside
    - —— work release, outcome unknown
    - —— unknown
11. Job assistance? (number of jobs reported to counselor)
    - —— no jobs
    - —— one job
    - —— two jobs
    - .
    - .
    - .
    - —— 96 or more
    - —— unknown
12. Job assistance? (Type FOR assist)
    - —— not applicable, client never looked for job and refused aptitude/interest counseling
    - —— not applicable, client looked for job but refused
    - —— no assistance given
    - —— counseling given
    - —— some assistance (but unspecified)
    - —— general job location counseling (no specific recommendation given)
    - —— client referred to placement agency
    - —— client referred to employer(s) (counselor did not contact)
    - —— client referred to employer(s) (counselor did contact)
    - —— other
    - —— unknown
13. Job assistance? (responsibility)
    - —— not applicable
    - —— client primary responsibility of another agency or agency for job placement
    - —— unclear whether not applicable or client joint responsibility
    - —— client joint responsibility
    - —— unclear whether joint responsibility or client never talked to other than counselor
    - —— client never talked to other than counselor
    - —— other
    - —— unknown
14. Job assistance? (job assistance outcome)
    - —— not applicable
    - —— unsuccessful though client tried
    - —— unsuccessful, client incarcerated
    - —— unsuccessful, client didn't try
    - —— unsuccessful, lost contact
    - —— unsuccessful, other/unknown
    - —— successful, primarily due to client
    - —— successful, unclear to whom
    - —— successful, largely due to FOR
    - —— successful, other/unknown
    - —— unknown outcome

15. Reasons why job terminated?
—— not applicable, no job termination
—— other
—— temporary position or not fault of client
—— employer let go (no fault client)
—— better job found
—— employer let go (fault client)
—— job hopped
—— job terminated due to arrest/incarceration
—— job terminated due to illness

16. Resources used for job assistance?
—— not applicable, no assistance given
—— no resources utilized
—— institution
—— other VR personnel (non-FOR)
—— state employment agency
—— training institution
—— parole/probation offices
—— private placement agency (not training institution)
—— other
—— unknown

17. Type of tool expenditures?
—— not applicable, did not receive tools
—— tool expenditure
—— business/self-employed expenditure
—— unknown

18. Did FOR provide tools?
—— not applicable, did not receive tools
—— provided by agency other than FOR or institution
—— provided institution
—— provided FOR

19. Provided in conjunction with training?
—— not applicable, did not receive tools
—— no, not provided in conjunction training
—— yes, provided in conjunction with training
—— unknown

20. Employment utilization of tools?
—— not applicable, did not receive tools
—— not applicable, incarcerated shortly after receipt
—— not applicable, not in job market after receipt
—— never used in employment
—— used in employment, not at closure
—— used in employment at closure
—— unknown

21. Impact of tool expenditure on job?
—— not applicable, no tools or never employed
—— enabled to get job or start business for which otherwise not qualified
—— enabled to improve job or business
—— unknown

22. Reasons for non-utilization at closure?
—— not applicable, did not receive tools
—— not applicable, student at closure
—— not applicable, not in job market at closure (other than student)
—— not applicable, utilized at closure
—— no full-time job available to client (not client's fault)
—— training/tools inadequate to qualify job above comparison level
—— better job found
—— client's fault, won't get a job
—— client's fault, won't keep a job
—— other
—— unknown

23. Interested in training?
—— not applicable, client not aware that was an option
—— not interested, period
—— not interested under options given
—— can't tell from record
—— interested

24. Why training not received if interested?
—— not applicable
—— counselor felt client's intelligence not adequate
—— no appropriate training facilities at hand
—— financial needs made it impossible to attend
—— client not motivated enough to follow through to enroll
—— incarcerated
—— other
—— unknown

25. Education at contact?
—— not applicable, incarcerated
—— other education gotten in institution
—— GED received in institution or prior to pickup
—— unknown

26. Education status changes during FOR?
—— no GED received
—— GED attempted, not received
—— GED received
—— not applicable, high school grad or GED received previously
—— unknown

27. Intensity of training?
—— not applicable, received no training
—— on-the-job
—— part-time
—— full-time

28. Type of training? (General)
—— not applicable, received no training
—— general education
—— blue collar
—— white collar
—— unknown

29. FOR provided?
—— not applicable, received no training
—— provided by other agency
—— provided by FOR
—— provided by institution
—— unknown

25. Maintenance received with training?
—— not applicable, received no training
—— none
—— some, emergency only
—— some, regular only
—— some, both emergency and regular
—— unknown

26. Previous background?
—— not applicable, received no training
—— none
—— some training, never employed
—— some employment, but in subsidiary role or only irregularly available
—— employed at a comparable level
—— not applicable, general education
—— unknown

27. Degree of completion?
—— not applicable, received no training
—— not applicable, student at closure
—— not applicable, involuntarily removed during illness (no fault)
—— requisitioned, not started (or only few days)
—— started, less than half completed
—— started, more than half completed
—— completed fully (or certified)
—— unknown

28. Reasons for non-completion?
—— not applicable, received no training
—— not applicable, student at closure
—— not applicable, completed in full
—— incarcerated during
—— client did not attend school and/or study regularly (dropped out or rejected for this reason)
—— financial pressures on client (needed to work more)
—— too difficult for client
—— client left town, no legitimate excuse for terminating
—— other
—— unknown

29. Employment outcome?
—— not applicable, never received training
—— not applicable, student at closure
—— not applicable, not ever in job market subsequent to training
—— never employed in
—— employed in, but not at closure
—— employed in at closure
—— unknown

30. Degree of utilization in employment at closure?
—— not applicable, never received training
—— not applicable, student at closure
—— not applicable, not ever in job market subsequent to training
—— not applicable, never employed in
—— minor portion only
—— major portion, not full status (helper, etc.)
—— major portion, full duties at closure
—— other
—— unknown

31. Reasons for nonutilization of training in employment at closure?
—— not applicable, never received training
—— not applicable, student at closure
—— not applicable, not in job market at closure
—— not applicable, utilized at closure
—— no full-time job available to client
—— training inadequate to qualify for job
—— better job found
—— client's fault, won't get a job
—— client's fault, won't keep a job
—— other
—— unknown

32. Employed while a student?
—— not applicable, not a student
—— never employed while student
—— employed irregularly – temporary jobs
—— employed regularly part-time student
—— employed part-time – future occupation
—— employed full-time – student type
—— employed full-time – future occupation
—— employed both part- and full-time – latter student
—— employed both part-time and full-time – latter related to future occupation.
—— other
—— unknown

33. Period of employment?
—— not applicable, not a student or never employed
—— first part of training
—— middle part of training
—— latter stages of training
—— most of time
—— all of time
—— other
—— unknown

34. Job status at pick up?
—— no job
—— job
—— jail
—— student or trainee
—— partial employment
—— unknown

35. Marital status?
—— unknown
—— single
—— married
—— divorced
—— separated
—— widow(er)
—— common-law

36. Dependents?
—— none
—— one
.
.
.
—— eight or more
—— unknown

37. Out of community? (P/PO violation – Plan B clients only)
—— unknown
—— violated
—— violated/not revoked
—— administrative violation
—— new crime – violation
—— at large

38. Arrest occurrences?
—— unknown
—— yes
—— no

39. Arrest charge?
—— misdemeanor
—— felony (economic or non-violent crime. Violence against property.)
—— narcotic, robbery, kidnapping. Violence against a person.
—— murder, rape, embezzlement. A circumstantial offense.
—— unspecified violation
—— other

40. Arrest disposition?
—— jail
—— probation
—— prison (including p/p revoked)
—— charge dismissed
—— fine
—— pending
—— probation with exceptions (includes suspended sentence)
—— failure to appear

41. Carry over to treatment period?
—— no carry over to treatment period (assignment to closure)
—— carry over

42. Where out of community?
—— half-way house
—— voluntary commitment for narcotics
—— hospitalization – medical
—— alcohol treatment cent/hospitalization
—— psychological treatment center/hospitalization
—— other
—— unknown

43. Where out of community if left town?
—— out of commuting area/within state
—— out of state – North East
—— out of state – Middle-Atlantic
—— out of state – South
—— out of state – Central (Midwest)
—— out of state – Southwest
—— out of state – Pacific Northwest (includes Alaska)
—— out of country
—— unknown location out of commuting area

were reflected in gross categories or from what we heard in conversation with the counselors. We then had, in effect, two variations in treatment which could not be accounted for in our data collection scheme. One was the change in treatment itself over time, (except in a gross sense), and the other was the multiplicity of treatment overlooked again by our gross categorization. We were stuck with what we had tried to avoid, which was looking at treatment in terms of its outcome and attempting to relate treatment to outcome and performance, rather than looking at the treatment process and variations in treatment in relation to performance outcome.

We would recommend the use of a form like the job assistance form, and that the form be instituted immediately upon the beginning of the experimentation. We would also recommend that data be available for examination before closure to insure uniform closure and treatment categories, and consistency in the data. We also feel that the message, again, is that a pre-test should be done before the experiment, not during it.

Thus our analysis was much like the process of treatment itself, the counselors engaged in an exploratory effort, in terms of treatment, during the experiment and we did the same with the research. Neither counselors nor research staff were able to implement a systematic form of treatment and treatment analysis during the experiment, sincy it was concluded before the exploratory efforts could be solidified.

PERFORMANCE – THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE

The assessment of performance received the greatest emphasis in the original design and, in the long run, also in the final design. The original design called for assessment of performance in eight areas:

(1) Non-institutionalization. The proportion of time monitored that a releasee spends without being re-committed to local, state, or federal institutions of any kind.

(2) Regularity of employment. The proportion of time monitored in full-time employment (or equivalent in part-time employment). In the Chicago project, an analogous estimate will be made for a woman keeping house for her own family.

(3) Total earnings. The average monthly earnings by the client's own efforts during time monitored.

(4) Economic independence. Evaluated by the proportion of personal support which stems from own earned income during the time monitored. (An analogous estimate will be made for women.) The proportion of the offender's personal support which does not stem from his own earnings (economic dependence) will also be assessed by:
   (a) Proportion coming from personal relations such as friends and family.
   (b) Proportion coming from public services such as state and federal welfare agencies.

(5) Social Participation. A composite rating based on membership in organizations such as churches, clubs, and unions and on the amount of time spent with non-delinquent persons (except immediate family) away from work.

(6) Socially acceptable behavior. A rating to be based on number of arrests, seriousness of offenses, agency records, or complaints registered by others either to community police authorities, community agencies, to the counselor, to the offender's family, or to the client himself.

(7) Personal alienation. A rating based on an offender's responses to an instrument assessing the extent to which he perceived himself to be alienated from law-abiding society. Available instruments will be utilized to assess the extent to which the offender has a generalized perception:
   (a) that socially disapproved means are required to achieve any goal.
   (b) that he cannot accurately predict the future consequences of his own immediate behavior.
   (c) that his own behavior is not intrinsically worthwhile.[15]

(8) General adjustment index. A weighted total of preceding indices.

Many of these indices were eliminated as time went on. The first deletion was of the questionnaires completed by the offenders. These dealt with alienation, criminal types and vocational aspirations and were taken out due to problems with highly uniform answers and unreliability.

DATA COLLECTED FROM SUBJECTS THROUGH QUESTIONNAIRES (Prepared by Sue Kachel)

Questionnaire Design and Administration

A series of attitude questionnaires administered to the population at multiple points in time was included in the initial research design to assess both levels and changes over time in alienation, criminal-social types and occupational aspiration and values.[16]

Criminal Social-type Dimensions
(Form V)

The four social type dimensions derived originally from the work of Clarence Schrag[17] and research carried out under him, first by Peter Garabedian[18] (who first devised the actual measuring instrument used in this study) and Rodolfo Alvarez.[19] The types are descriptions of the

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[15] Melvin Seeman, "Alienation and Social Learning in a Reformatory," pp. 270-284.

[16] Copies of the actual set of questionnaires follow:

[17] Clarence C. Schrag, "Crimeville; A Sociometric Study of a Prison Community" (unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Washington, 1949). Also dealt with in a more recent article by the author in *The Prison, Studies in Institutional Organization and Change*, ed. by Donald R. Cressey (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961) pp. 309-357.

[18] Peter G. Garabedian, "Western Penitentiary: A Study in Social Organization" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1959).

FORM V – FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

For the following statements circle the number that best fits your opinion of each statement as indicated below:

STRONGLY DISAGREE . . . . Circle 4
DISAGREE . . . . Circle 3
AGREE . . . . Circle 2
STRONGLY AGREE . . . . Circle 1

(Circle one number for each statement)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I can't stand to have people order me around, no matter who they are	1	2	3	4
2. Sometimes I feel that people are using me	1	2	3	4
3. Officials are not really interested in helping persons who are in trouble with the law; they are only interested in a good paying and soft job	1	2	3	4
4. "Might is right." "Every man for himself." These are the rules of life, regardless of what people say	1	2	3	4
5. I often wonder what the meaning of life really is	1	2	3	4
6. When I see the way other people think and what they do, I sometimes feel very different from them	1	2	3	4
7. You have to take care of yourself because nobody is going to take care of you	1	2	3	4
8. Many times I feel that if I were to obey all the rules, regulations and laws I would never accomplish anything	1	2	3	4
9. Real friends are as easy as ever to find	1	2	3	4
10. The biggest criminals are protected by society and rarely get to prison	1	2	3	4
11. We're so regimented today that there's not much room for choice even in individual matters	1	2	3	4
12. Never do anything that isn't going to pay off	1	2	3	4
13. Police, judges, prosecutors, and politicians are just as crooked as most of the people they send to prison	1	2	3	4
14. The only thing one can be sure of today is that he can be sure of nothing	1	2	3	4
15. Most people, including myself, are similar in many ways. The fact that some of us get into legal troubles does not make us any different	1	2	3	4
16. My associates can trust me to be honest and loyal in my dealings with them	1	2	3	4
17. Regardless of what goal one has in life, the way to achieve any goal is by honesty in every detail	1	2	3	4
18. One can always find friends if he shows himself friendly	1	2	3	4
19. You've got to have confidence in yourself if you are going to be successful	1	2	3	4
20. We are just so many cogs in the machinery of life	1	2	3	4
21. About the only way a person can get along in this world is to put on a big act for everybody. You sometimes even have to put on an act for yourself	1	2	3	4
22. There is a little larceny in everybody if you are really honest about it	1	2	3	4
23. Life as most men live it is meaningless	1	2	3	4
24. People are all very much alike	1	2	3	4
25. Who you know is more important than what you know	1	2	3	4

FORM V – FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM continued

For the following statements circle the number that best fits your opinion of each statement as indicated below:

STRONGLY DISAGREE .... Circle 4
DISAGREE .... Circle 3
AGREE .... Circle 2
STRONGLY AGREE .... Circle 1

(Circle one number for each statement)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
26. Brains are more important than brawn	1	2	3	4
27. It is a fact that to be a financial success a person has to do a little cheating here and there	1	2	3	4
28. The world in which we live is basically a friendly place	1	2	3	4
29. The only criminals I really know are the ones I have met since my conviction	1	2	3	4
30. Many times I feel that I have very little influence over things that happen to me	1	2	3	4
31. As a person, I'm not worth very much	1	2	3	4
32. Most people try to be law-abiding and true	1	2	3	4
33. Life is mostly a matter of chance happenings	1	2	3	4
34. I'm really not a member of the community in which I live	1	2	3	4
35. I generally feel guilty whenever I do wrong	1	2	3	4
36. Even among friends and neighbors, the person who keeps all his promises is always the loser	1	2	3	4
37. There are few dependable ties between people any more	1	2	3	4
38. This world is run by a few people in power and there isn't much the little guy can do about it	1	2	3	4
39. Most people think that I am worthless	1	2	3	4
40. A person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself	1	2	3	4
41. I am different from most people I know	1	2	3	4
42. What people expect you to do is not what matters. The important thing is to get what you want, no matter how you get it	1	2	3	4
43. People are just naturally friendly and helpful	1	2	3	4
44. I am a person who contributes to community decisions	1	2	3	4
45. Very few things that a person does are really worthwhile	1	2	3	4
46. It is hard to figure out why people act the way they do. Usually you can't figure out what they will do next	1	2	3	4
47. Most people I know do things that I do not really like	1	2	3	4
48. No matter what you do, you always break somebody's rules	1	2	3	4
49. The best way to get along in this world is not to make friends with anybody.	1	2	3	4

FORM XI – FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

1. Before you were convicted for the current offense, what occupation did you plan to have as your life work?

   — I had not thought about it very much.

   — I had thought about a criminal career:
   I had decided to be a . . . .

   — I had thought about a legitimate career:
   I had decided to be a . . . .

2. Now, are you concerned about what kind of a career you should go into after your release from (probation, parole, institution)?

   — I am very concerned.

   — I am somewhat concerned.

   — I am not concerned at all.

3. Now, are you concerned about whether you will still be able to go into the career you had planned?

   — I am very concerned.

   — I am somewhat concerned.

   — I am not concerned at all.

4. Now that you are on (probation, institution, parole, mandatory release), are you concerned about whether you will be able to get a job?

   — I am very concerned.

   — I am somewhat concerned.

   — I am not concerned at all.

5. I think that a person convicted of a federal offense should be given all the opportunity to work that he can possibly be given, if he is willing to work.

   — I strongly disagree.

   — I disagree.

   — I agree.

   — I strongly agree.

6. Do you feel that your vocational rehabilitation counselor recognizes your capabilities?

   — I am sure that he does not recognize my capabilities.

   — I believe that he does not recognize my capabilities.

   — I believe that he recognizes my capabilities.

   — I am sure that he recognizes my capabilities.

7. Do you feel that everything has been done to help you get the job where you fit best?

   — No, much more could be done to help me get the right job.

   — No, a little more help could help me get the right job.

   — Yes, a lot was done to get me the right job.

   — Yes, everything was done to help me get the right job.

8. Which of the following statements best tells the way you feel about getting a job?

— I'm ready to go and I want to get to work very soon.

— I'd like to get to work as soon as possible, but I don't think I'm ready yet.

— I hope that I don't have to go to work, because I don't think I'll ever be a good worker.

— None of the above fits me. My feeling is this ....

— The question does not apply to me because I already have a job.

9. If he has the ability, do you think that a person convicted of a federal offense has a good chance for promotion?

— A very good chance.

— A fairly good chance.

— Not much of a chance.

— No chance at all.

10. How interested are you in the work you are doing on your present job?

— Not very interested at all.

— A little but not much interested.

— Very much interested in my work.

— The question does not apply to me because I am not working.

11. What is the occupation in which **you would really like to be employed**? Even if no one else thinks you should be in it, what is the occupation you would most prefer to have? ....

12. Exactly what would you do in that occupation? ....

13. How strongly do you feel that you want to be employed in the occupation you listed above?

— Very strongly.

— Fairly strongly.

— Not strongly at all.

14. Have you ever been employed at this occupation?

— Yes

— No

15. If you have not been employed at this occupation, do you have the training to do the job?

— I am highly trained in this occupation.

— I have some training in this occupation.

— I have no training in this occupation.

16. If you have little or no training in this occupation, would you like to have some training?

— I would like to have training for this occupation.

— I very much want training for this occupation.

— I would not like any training.

17. How likely are you to be able to get a job in this occupation?

— Very likely.

— Likely.

— Unlikely.

— Very unlikely.

— I now have a job in this occupation.

18. Do you ever have any doubts about whether you will achieve all of the success you are aiming for?

— I never have a moment of doubt.

— I seldom have any doubts.

— I sometimes have some doubts.

— I am always in doubt.

19. After you are in the occupation that will be your life work, when will you consider yourself successful enough that you can relax and stop trying so hard to get ahead?

— When I am doing **well enough to stay in my occupation.**

— When I am doing **as well as most** persons in my occupation.

— When I am doing **better than most** people in my occupation.

— When I am doing **better than everyone else** in my occupation.

— Never.

20. When you think of the serious illnesses, accidents, and deaths in the family you are now living with, would you say that this family is:

— **More fortunate** than most families.

— **About average** as compared to most families.

— **Less fortunate** than most families.

— This question does not apply to me because I am not living with any family now.

21. When you think of the food, housing, clothing, and recreation of the family you are now living with, would you say that this family is:

— **Economically better off** than most families.

— **About average** as compared to most families.

— **Economically worse off** than most families.

— This question does not apply to me because I am not living with any family now.

FORM XII – FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

Suppose that you were offered an opportunity to make a substantial advance in a job or occupation. Place a check opposite each item in the following list to show how important it would be in stopping you from making that advance.

1. The job would endanger your health

—— Might stop me from making the change.

—— Would be a serious consideration but would not stop me.

—— Wouldn't matter at all.

2. The job would require that you leave your family for some time

—— Might stop me from making the change.

—— Would be a serious consideration but would not stop me.

—— Would not matter at all.

3. The job would require that you move around the country a lot

—— Might stop me from making the change.

—— Would be a serious consideration but would not stop me.

—— Would not matter at all.

4. The job would require that you leave your community

—— Might stop me from making the change.

—— Would be a serious consideration but would not stop me.

—— Would not matter at all.

5. The job would require that you leave your friends

—— Might stop me from making the change.

—— Would be a serious consideration but would not stop me.

—— Would not matter at all.

6. The job would require that you give up your leisure time

—— Might stop me from making the change.

—— Would be a serious consideration but would not stop me.

—— Would not matter at all.

7. The job would require that you keep quiet about your political views

—— Might stop me from making the change.

—— Would be a serious consideration but would not stop me.

—— Would not matter at all.

8. The job would require that you learn a new routine

—— Might stop me from making the change.

—— Would be a serious consideration but would not stop me.

—— Would not matter at all.

9. The job would require that you work harder than you are now

—— Might stop me from making the change.

—— Would be a serious consideration but would not stop me.

—— Would not matter at all.

10. The job would require that you take on more responsibility

—— Might stop me from making the change.

—— Would be a serious consideration but would not stop me.

—— Would not matter at all.

FORM XIV – FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

1. Before you were convicted for the current offense, what occupation did you plan to have as your life work?

   — I had not thought about it very much.
   — I had thought about a criminal career:
   I had decided to be a ....

   — I had thought about a legitimate career:
   I had decided to be a ....

2. Now, are you concerned about what kind of a career you should go into after your release from (probation, parole, institution)?

   — I am very concerned.

   — I am somewhat concerned.

   — I am not concerned at all.

3. Now, are you concerned about whether you will still be able to go into the career you had planned?

   — I am very concerned.

   — I am somewhat concerned.

   — I am not concerned at all.

4. Now that you are on (probation, institution, parole, mandatory release), are you concerned about whether you will be able to get a job?

   — I am very concerned.

   — I am somewhat concerned.

   — I am not concerned at all.

5. I think that a person convicted of a federal offense should be given all the opportunity to work that he can possibly be given, if he is willing to work.

   — I strongly disagree.

   — I disagree.

   — I agree.

   — I strongly agree.

6. Do you feel that your (probation officer, prison caseworker, parole officer) recognizes your capabilities?

   — I am sure that he does not recognize my capabilities.

   — I believe that he does not recognize my capabilities.

   — I believe that he recognizes my capabilities.

   — I am sure that he recognizes my capabilities.

7. Do you feel that anything has been done to help you get the job where you fit best?

   — No, much more could have been done to help me get the right job.

   — No, a little more help could get me the right job.

   — Yes, a lot was done to get me the right job.

   — Yes, everything was done to help me get the right job.

FORM XIV – FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

8. Which of the following statements best tells the way you feel about getting a job?

— I'm ready to go and I want to get to work very soon.

— I'd like to get to work as soon as possible, but I don't think I'm ready yet.

— I hope that I don't have to go to work, because I don't think I'll ever be a good worker.

— None of the above fits me. My feeling is this . . . .

— The question does not apply to me because I already have a job.

9. If he has the ability, do you think that a person convicted of a federal offense has a good chance for promotion?

— A very good chance.

— A fairly good chance.

— Not much of a chance.

— No chance at all.

10. How interested are you in the work you are doing on your present job?

— Not very interested at all.

— A little but not much interested.

— Very much interested in my work.

— The question does not apply to me because I am not working.

11. What is the occupation in which you would really like to be employed? Even if no one else thinks you should be in it, what is the occupation you would most prefer to have? . . . .

12. Exactly what would you do in that occupation? . . . .

13. How strongly do you feel that you want to be employed in the occupation you listed above?

— Very strongly.

— Fairly strongly.

— Not strongly at all.

14. Have you ever been employed at this occupation?

— Yes

— No

15. If you have not been employed at this occupation, do you have the training to do the job?

— I am highly trained in this occupation.

— I have some training in this occupation.

— I have no training in this occupation.

16. If you have little or no training in this occupation, would you like to have some training?

— I would like to have training for this occupation.

— I very much want training for this occupation.

— I would not like any training.

17. How likely are you to be able to get a job in this occupation?

—— Very likely.

—— Likely.

—— Unlikely.

—— Very unlikely.

—— I now have a job in this occupation.

18. Do you ever have any doubts about whether you will achieve all of the success you are aiming for?

—— I never have a moment of doubt.

—— I seldom have any doubts.

—— I sometimes have some doubts.

—— I am always in doubt.

19. After you are in the occupation that will be your life work, when will you consider yourself successful enough that you can relax and stop trying so hard to get ahead?

—— When I am doing **well enough to stay** in my **occupation**.

—— When I am doing **as well as most** persons in my occupation.

—— When I am doing **better than most** people in my occupation.

—— When I am doing **better than everyone else** in my occupation.

—— Never.

20. When you think of the serious illnesses, accidents, and deaths in the family you are now living with, would you say that this family is:

—— **More fortunate** than most families.

—— **About average** as compared to most families.

—— **Less fortunate** than most families.

—— This question does not apply to me because I am not living with any family now.

21. When you think of the food, housing, clothing, and recreation of the family you are now living with, would you say that this family is:

—— **Economically better off** than most families.

—— **About average** as compared to most families.

—— **Economically worse off** than most families.

—— This question does not apply to me because I am not living with any family now.

FORM XV – FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

For the following statements circle the number that best fits your opinion of each statement as indicated below:

STRONGLY DISAGREE . . . . Circle 4
DISAGREE . . . . Circle 3
AGREE . . . . Circle 2
STRONGLY AGREE . . . . Circle 1

(Circle one number for each statement)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. Most people lose respect for a man who is always bucking for a promotion	1	2	3	4
2. Most people lose respect for a man who is always trying to get by without any work	1	2	3	4
3. It is all right for a person to try to get by without any work if he doesn't get caught	1	2	3	4
4. It is all right for a person to try to get by without any work if it does not make more work for other people on the job	1	2	3	4
5. It is wrong for a person to try to get by without any work if it makes more work for other people	1	2	3	4
6. Most people work just hard enough to get by	1	2	3	4
7. Most people put all they've got into their work	1	2	3	4
8. The harder a man works, the better chance he has of succeeding	1	2	3	4

self-roles convicts have been found to adopt in the prison society. Three forced choice questions assess the dimensions of a-social, anti-social and pro-social types, while four were used for the pseudo-social type.

Alienation Dimensions
(Form V)

Five particular theoretical dimensions or sub-categories of alienation distinguished by Melvin Seeman – powerlessness, self-estrangement, normlessness, social isolation and meaninglessness – were utilized.[20] A social adjustment dimension was added in this study to these five others. Six forced choice questions assessed each of the dimensions. Earlier work using three of the questions on three dimensions was done by Rudolfo Alvarez.[21]

Occupational Aspiration and Values
(Forms XI, XII and XIV)

Seven dimensions running from one to ten questions in length were designed for this study to measure concepts growing out of the theoretical literature in this area. Two eight-item dimensions, one an outgrowth of Stouffer's work in the *American Soldier*,[22] were used to assess occupational motivation. Another set of five items was designed to measure the realism of occupational aspirations. Occupational values (ten items), adjustment to job (one item) and vocational assistance received from this project (three items) were also included. The final dimension of relative deprivation (two items) asked clients to rate their families as to health, accidents and financial resources.

These sets of questionnaires were administered to treatment and control I cases according to the following schedule. Form V was administered four times—at initial contact, at nine weeks, at nine months, and at two years. Forms XI, XII, and XIV with the omission of the nine week administration had a duplicate schedule.

Control II cases were scheduled to receive only the two-year set so that the effects of the administration of the questionnaire itself apart from treatment might be assessed through comparison of control I and control II performances. Low proportionate return on control II questionnaires, coupled with initial non-comparability between control I and control II groups made this purpose unachievable. Generally, in the latter stages, most questionnaires were administered by mail. In the C projects, initial questionnaires were given by the counselor and infrequently by his secretary in the prison. In A and B projects, initial administration on treatment cases was usually done in the VRC's office during the initial contact. Sometimes, the probation officer cooperated in administering these questionnaires to control I clients.

Analytical Techniques

Early in the course of the project, questionnaires received were examined for item response distribution patterns and for scalability. Later when questionnaires were available from two to three time periods, item response reliability and attitude change were estimated. Throughout the project span, the research office made monthly requests to project staffs for outstanding questionnaires due, but not received. The following four sections briefly summarize the results of these efforts.

Questionnaire Response

Non-response was significant, varying uniformly both with time and assignment group. Even on the initial questionnaire, non-response was from one-third to one-fourth.[23] By nine months, this had increased by 50 per cent and by two years, it had almost doubled with only a minor proportion of the population filling out questionnaires. This was true even though considerable effort was devoted to finding clients and getting forms filled out. Although no formal analysis was conducted to compare response and non-response groups on background characteristics, it seems highly likely that significant biases were present.

TABLE 10.—PERCENTAGE OF QUESTIONNAIRES RETURNED

Assignment Group	Initial	9 week	9 month	2 year*	N
FORM V					
Intensive	74.7	66.8	63.4	36.0	653
Control I	67.1	63.0	50.8	27.0	630
Control II				14.1	1369
FORMS XI-XV					
Intensive	84.1		64.2	36.1	653
Control I	81.3		51.9	27.6	630
Control II				15.0	1369

*Two-year percentages based upon total N even though more than ¼ of these due to late assignment or release had no 2-year form expected.

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[19] Rodolfo Alvarez, "Social Organization in a Federal Correctional Institution" (unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Washington, 1964).

[20] Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," *American Sociological Review*, XXIV (December 1959), 783-91.

[21] Alvarez, *op. cit.*

[22] Samuel A. Stouffer, *The American Soldier* (I & II) (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1949).

[23] Response rates for Forms XI-XV were higher than this due to a classification difference. Since no nine-week form was scheduled, questionnaires given at nine weeks for clients missed on the initial round were classified as "initial" for Forms XI-XV, but as a nine-week for Form V's. On most questionnaires, scheduled dates and actual dates were often not in complete accord. Frequently only the scheduled date and not the actual date the questionnaire was administered was available to the research staff.

Item Response Distributions

With responses grouped into agree/disagree dichotomies, many items showed badly skewed distribution. An item was classified as badly skewed when the division of responses between the two categories fell between 0/100 per cent and 15/85 per cent. On this basis, a majority of items in the social types dimensions for self-estrangement and normlessness alienation dimensions and the relative deprivation dimension were badly skewed. Only four dimensions, two alienation dimensions (powerlessness and social isolation) and two occupational aspiration dimensions (motivation and values) had at least half of their items with a fairly even division of responses (between 30/70 per cent and 50/50 per cent).

TABLE 11.—SKEWNESS OF SOME QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

Dimensional Type	N	%
Social Types	7	54.0
Alienation	9	25.0
Occup. Asp.	9	24.0

Item Reliability and Response Change

Item test-retest reliabilities were computed for all non-skewed items.[24] The measure of reliability used was a proportional reduction in agreement measure, defined as follows:

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{E_1 - E_2}{E_1}$$

Where

E_1 = number of errors made when using random device to reproduce marginal distributions.

E_2 = number of cases involving a switch in response.

Reliabilities were computed separately for treatment and control I's. Social type and alienation item reliabilities involved an average of 3 time comparisons while occupational items involved only 2 time comparisons. Generally, item reliability was low. Few were as high as 50 per cent. Lowest reliabilities were in the occupational items with only 3 (8 per cent) attaining levels of at least 40 per cent. Only four social type items (31 per cent) reached this level and 10 (28 per cent) alienation items. This left most dimensions with, at the best, two items, or more commonly, one or none.

Since these low reliability scores could be accounted for if significant attitude change had taken place over time, several methods were used to get estimates of the amounts of consistent change. With little difference between treatment and control reliability scores, it appeared treatment itself had not produced attitudinal change during the first nine months. Adjusted reliability coefficients, computed after subtracting out the estimated effects of change on the basis of Coleman's change and uncertainty model,[25] were found not to differ significantly from their unadjusted counterparts due to the minimal occurrence of change. Finally, using the full range of responses on social type and alienation items (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree) at three time periods, the frequency of various types of response patterns involving both agree and disagree responses was computed. Basically most non-agreement response patterns involved a switch between the intermediate two categories. Only with the data from four time periods could some "ambivalent" patterns be separated from a consistent unidirectional shift from agree to disagree or vice versa and this was not done.

TABLE 12.—RELIABILITY OF SOME QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

Dimensional Type	Reliability* Levels**		Reliability* ≥40%	
	Average	Range	N	%
Social Type	47.0	34-61	4	31.0
Alienation	41.0	24-58	10	28.0
Occupat. Asp.	34.0	11-51	3	8.0

*Reliabilities based on dichotomous responses.

**Based on non-skewed items only. Inclusion of badly skewed items would have lowered average reliabilities.

Dimensional Scalability

Social type and alienation dimensions were initially investigated for scalability. Intradimension item correlation as measured by gammas showed low levels of association. All of the four social type dimensions showed average intradimension gammas of 25 per cent or less. Average intradimension gammas for alienation dimensions ranged from 21 to 46 per cent, higher levels associated with dimensions having a majority or more of their items badly skewed. A factor analysis was carried out on each of these two dimensional types. Results showed little tendency for dimensions to be factorially distinct. This was particularly pronounced for alienation dimensions.

Guttman's scaling utilizing the Goodenough technique was tried on the alienation dimensions with responses dichotomized.[26] Percent improvement over marginal reproducibility ranged from minus one to plus seventeen per cent. Several attempts utilizing subdivisions based upon legal status and project did not improve scalability. A subdivision utilizing factor loadings in an attempt to differentiate honest from socially desirable response bias patterns resulted in a substantively ambiguous ordering of items.

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[24] Badly skewed items had low reliabilities in general due, in large part, to their high marginal predictability. Due to their skew, the same proportion of non-agree comparisons produced much lower reliability levels.

[25] James S. Coleman, *Models of Change and Response Uncertainty* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964).

[26] W. H. A. Goodenough, "A Technique For Scale Analysis," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, IV (1944), 179-90.

A new scaling technique had been developed shortly before the attempts to scale these items in Guttman fashion. This was the developmental scale.[27] Although this method had not yet been programmed for computer usage, some manual hand sort attempts were made to test its use with some of these items. In fact, it was discovered that scalability was improved using that particular approach. The difficulties of translating this new scaling method to a computer program have only recently been resolved though, so this method was never available for further use with these items.

Questionnaire Evaluation

Large expenditures of time had been made in the collection and analysis of questionnaire data before the end of the program. From both the collection and analysis ends, sufficient doubts had been raised to make further investment of effort appear of questionable informational value. On the collection end, as mentioned in Chapter II, there was general dissatisfaction. It was reported that many clients found some items unintelligible while other items so transparent in investigative intent that client character and intelligence were insulted. Although the following statement does not describe all reactions,[28] it does summarize what appeared to be a common one: "I believe I told you once that I customarily had the ten-year-old daughter of a friend fill them out [the questionnaires], which was true. She thought they were silly and I find the questions and choice of answers so meaningless as to be impossible to honestly answer. . . . Whoever wrote the questions strongly presumes that the person filling it out is at least a criminal in the legal sense and so assumes a great deal of 'moral criminality' (excuse the lack of a better term) on the part of the answerer and it doesn't give me a real choice of an answer. . . . It's really easy to guess which answers point to 'acceptable' attitudes, but what stops me is that subservience and financial success are the only alternative to outright criminality or whatever I'm supposed to be being rehabilitated from."[29]

As is apparent from the quote, many questions were badly worded merely from the perspective of communication to the subject population. Further, response alternatives usually had a very obvious socially desirable response and a socially disapproved response. The direction and degree of skew were strongly related to this factor. Thus, the social desirability bias in client responses became inextricably mixed with actual attitudes. A number of items were not adequately pre-tested. The social type items which had been used before generally had higher reliability levels, but even on the best of items, test-retest reliabilities were usually not high and many items — more than three or even six — need to be incorporated to gain high dimensional reliability.

Inadequate time was spent in both conceptualizing and pre-testing items to insure dimensional scalability. There were low item reliabilities and lack of dimensional item intra-relations. This made substantive interpretation of the relationship between attitude measures and treatment/performance ambiguous at best.

RECIDIVISM, EMPLOYMENT AND COMMUNITY INTEGRATION

Data Collection

The questionnaires filled out by the offenders themselves were not the only problematic forms for collecting information on performance. The other indices of performance, ranging from community integration to criminal activity to employment, were included on a single form, primarily expected to be completed by the probation/parole officer. This form from the very beginning was in need of revision. Probation officers objected immediately, saying that the information was not available in the form requested.[30] For example, in the area of employment, the form had dealt with a number of employment changes over a nine-month or a fifteen-month period. The officers knew they could take that kind of information off the monthly supervision report by simply counting the changes, but preferred not to. The form also included questions concerning the attitudes of employers toward the offender employee and vice versa. Probation officers assured us that they were unlikely to have this information, and if they did not have it they were extremely reluctant both in terms of the time it took and in terms of confidentiality to contact the employer and ask questions. Many employers, they felt, were unaware of the offender's status as a parolee (or whatever) and this would jeopardize both the offender's employment and his relationship with the officer. Given the kinds of objections they had to the form, we decided to revise it, but the revision retained the general format of the original. Even with the revision we were more concerned with change in employment than in employment at any given time.[31] What we ended up with was good data in terms of rearrest, a portion of the form which we did not change, and better data on employment than we would have had originally. However, particularly in regard to employment, the focus on change rather than period of employment was unfortunate. Another piece of information on that form which concerned residential stability we excluded since we

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[27] Robert K. Leik and Merlyn Matthews, "A Scale For Developmental Processes," *American Sociological Review*, XXXIII:1 (February 1968), 62-75.

[28] A couple of clients interviewed in Springfield indicated that although they had not received any service, the questionnaires had made them more introspective about their behavior and thus helped in their adjustment. However, this was definitely a minority view.

[29] From a client's letter to his VR counselor.

[30] A copy of that form is as follows:

[31] The second version of that form follows:

FORM IV – FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

Date when monitoring of this case began ————————

A. RECIDIVISM

**1. Has this offender violated parole or probation?
(This refers to probation or parole at the time this case was picked up for monitoring.)**

**—— Not violated
—— Violated but probation/parole not revoked
—— Probation/parole revoked for administrative violation
—— Probation/parole revoked for new offense**

2. If this offender's probation/parole (to which offender was sentenced at time the case was picked up for monitoring) has been revoked, how much time (in weeks) has he been in an institution for the violation?

Number of weeks ————————————

3. Has this offender been arrested for any illegal activity during the period since the case was picked up for monitoring by FOR? If so, give date of apprehension, name of federal, state, or local agency which apprehended the offender, and circle how serious the offense is considered in the community.

**—— Not apprehended during monitoring period
—— Apprehended by (start with most recent apprehension and work back):**

**Agency—————Date—————Offense————— Serious, moderate, minor
Agency—————Date—————Offense————— Serious, moderate, minor
Agency—————Date—————Offense————— Serious, moderate, minor
Agency—————Date—————Offense————— Serious, moderate, minor**

4. Has this offender been convicted for any offense during the period since this case was picked up for monitoring by FOR? If so, give dates and court (federal, state, local) in which convicted and specify length of sentence.

**—— Not convicted during monitoring period
—— Convicted by (start with most recent conviction and work back):**

**Court——————————Date——————————Disposition——————————
Court——————————Date——————————Disposition——————————
Court——————————Date——————————Disposition——————————
Court——————————Date——————————Disposition——————————**

**5. How much time (in weeks) has this offender served in local, state, or federal institutions on each conviction since this case was picked up for monitoring by FOR?
(Record all time served including time while awaiting sentence)**

**Time————————————————————————Institution————————————————————————
Time————————————————————————Institution————————————————————————
Time————————————————————————Institution————————————————————————
Time————————————————————————Institution————————————————————————**

B. SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

1. Have any complaints about this offender been registered either with community police, community agencies, vocational rehabilitation counselors, probation or parole officers, offender's family, or the offender himself? If so, indicate the source of the complaint, to whom it was made, and give a simple one-phrase description of the complaint.

Source——————————————————to whom made——————————————————Describe——————————————

Source——————————————————to whom made——————————————————Describe——————————————

Source——————————————————to whom made——————————————————Describe——————————————

Source——————————————————to whom made——————————————————Describe——————————————

2. Is this offender presently a member of a church?

**—— Not a member of a church
—— Presently a member of a church**

FORM IV – FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

3. How frequently during the past month did this offender participate in church activities other than attending services?

— None
— Once
— Two or three times
— Four times or more

4. Is this offender presently a member of a social club (bowling, baseball, bridge, etc.)?

— Not a member of any club
— A member of one club
— A member of two clubs
— A member of three clubs
— A member of four or more clubs

5. How frequently during the past month did this offender participate in organized social activities such as bowling, baseball, bridge, etc.?

— Never
— Once
— Two or three times
— Four or more times

6. Is this offender presently a member of a labor union or professional organization?

— Not a member of any occupational organization
— A member of one occupational organization
— A member of two occupational organizations
— A member of three occupational organizations
— A member of four or more occupational organizations

7. How frequently in the past month did this offender participate in the activities of occupational organizations; meetings, social gatherings, etc.?

— Never
— Once
— Two or three times
— Four times or more

8. Is this offender presently a member of a charitable or a public service organization?

— Not a member of any service organization
— A member of one service organization
— A member of two service organizations
— A member of three service organizations
— A member of four or more service organizations

9. How frequently in the past month has this offender participated in the activities of charitable or public service organizations, fund raising campaigns, social gatherings, etc.?

— Never
— Once
— Two or three times
— Four times or more

10. How many changes of residence has this offender had since this case was picked up for monitoring by FOR?

— No changes (Has had only one place of residence)
— One change of residence
— Two changes of residence
— Three changes of residence
— Four or more changes of residence

11. What was this offender's longest period of residence at any one place since this case was picked up for monitoring by FOR?

— Less than one month
— One month
— Two months
— Three months
— Four months
— Five months
— Six or more months

FORM IV – FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

12. **Does this offender own his/her current place of residence?**

— Own residence
— Rent residence
— Other (specify) ....

13. **How many persons live with this offender?**
("Live with" is defined as paying for major household and living expenses out of a common budget or by common agreements)

— Lives alone
— Lives with one other person
— Lives with two other persons
— Lives with three other persons
— Lives with four or more other persons

14. **Do persons other than family relations live with this offender?**

— No person other than family relations
— One person not a family relation
— Two persons not family relations
— Three persons not family relations
— Four or more persons not family relations

15. **Do any persons who live with this offender have a criminal history?**

— No person living with offender has a criminal history
— One person living with offender has a criminal history
— Two persons living with offender have a criminal history
— Three persons living with offender have a criminal history
— Four or more persons living with offender have a criminal history

16. **Compared to most families, this offender's family is:**
(Answer this question even though offender may not live with his family)

— More harmonious than most families
— About as harmonious as most families
— Less harmonious than most families

17. **Compared to most groups, the group in which this offender lives is:**

— More harmonious than most groups
— About as harmonious as most groups
— Less harmonious than most groups
— Offender lives alone

18. **This offender's family may be described as:**

— Male dominated. Decision-making, authority, and balance of power concerning family affairs are held by one or more males in the immediate family.

— Female dominated. Decision-making, authority, and balance of power concerning family affairs are held by one or more females in the immediate family.

— Equalitarian. Decision-making, authority, and balance of power concerning family affairs are shared about equally among males and females in the immediate family.

— Conflict dominated. Males and females in the immediate family are in continual conflict over decision-making, authority, and balance of power over family affairs.

19. **As a group, the people that live with this offender may be described as:**

— Male dominated. Decision-making, authority, and balance of power concerning group affairs are held by one or more males in the immediate group.

— Female dominated. Decision-making, authority, and balance of power concerning group affairs are held by one or more females in the immediate group.

— Equalitarian. Decision-making, authority, and balance of power concerning group affairs are shared about equally among males and females in the immediate group.

— Conflict dominated. Males and females in the immediate group are in continual conflict over decision-making, authority, and balance of power over group affairs.

FORM IV – FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

C. OCCUPATIONAL BEHAVIOR

1. Is this offender presently holding a job? (Including on-the-job training)

—— No, not holding a job of any kind
—— No, not holding a job but is in training
—— Yes, a salaried job
—— Yes, a regular hourly job
—— Yes, an "on-call" hourly job
—— Yes, self-employed
—— Yes, has a job but none of the above (specify) ....

2. If the offender is currently employed, is he holding a job for which he was trained during the correctional process?

—— No training for this job was received during the correctional process
—— Training for this job was received in an institution
—— Training for this job was received under FOR
—— Training for this job was received from another source (specify) ....

3. If offender is currently employed, is he holding a job which he had held at some time previous to the time when this case was picked up for monitoring by FOR?

—— Yes
—— No, never held a similar job before

4. If offender is currently employed, how does his employer evaluate the offender's behavior on the job during the past month?

—— Very favorable
—— Favorable
—— Unfavorable
—— Very unfavorable

5. Since the beginning of his current job (or since beginning of monitoring by FOR whichever is most recent) this offender has had an average absentee rate of:

—— Not employed
—— Less than one day per month
—— One day per month
—— Two days per month
—— Three days per month
—— Four or more days per month

6. Since the beginning of his current training (or since beginning of monitoring by FOR whichever is most recent) this offender has had an average absentee rate of:

—— Not in training
—— Less than one day per month
—— One day per month
—— Two days per month
—— Three days per month
—— Four or more days per month

7. How well does this offender get along with (cooperate with) his fellow workers?

—— Very well
—— Satisfactorily
—— Very poorly
—— Unsatisfactorily

8. How many weeks has this offender been employed since this case was picked up for monitoring? (Count as a week of employment any week during which this offender held any kind of job, even if only a temporary job.)

Number of weeks ——————————

9. What has been the longest period of time during which this offender has held one particular job since this case was picked up for monitoring by FOR? (Do not count part-time in terms of full-time equivalence, e.g. two weeks part-time is to be counted as two weeks' duration.)

Number of weeks ——————————

10. How many job changes has this offender had since this case was picked up for monitoring by FOR? (Do not include changes in work assignment when working for the same employer.)

—— No changes
—— One change
—— Two changes
—— Three changes
—— Four or more changes

FORM IV — FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

11. What was this offender's income during the past month? (Include all income from all sources; personal gifts, welfare, own work, etc.)

—— Less than $100
—— $101 - $200
—— $201 - $300
—— $301 - $400
—— $401 - $500
—— $501 - $600
—— $601 - $700
—— $701 - $800
—— $801 - over

12. How much of this offender's income during the past month came from his own earnings (derived from his own work)?

—— Less than $100
—— $101 - $200
—— $201 - $300
—— $301 - $400
—— $401 - $500
—— $501 - $600
—— $601 - $700
—— $701 - $800
—— $801 - over

13. How much of this offender's income during the past month came from other sources?

—— Less than $100
—— $101 - $200
—— $201 - $300
—— $301 - $400
—— $401 - $500
—— $501 - $600
—— $601 - $700
—— $701 - $800
—— $800 - over

14. How much of this offender's income during the past month came from public services such as private, local, state, or federal welfare agencies?

—— Less than $100
—— $101 - $200
—— $201 - $300
—— $301 - $400
—— $401 - $500
—— $501 - $600
—— $601 - $700
—— $701 - $800
—— $801 - over

15. What is this offender's usual occupation?

—— Professional (teacher, doctor, engineer)
—— Proprietor (self-employed merchant, contractor)
—— Business official or executive (management level)
—— Salesman
—— Clerical (bookkeeper, office machine operator)
—— Farm owner or manager
—— Skilled worker (plumber, machine operator)
—— Service worker (policeman, probation officer, barber)
—— Unskilled (laborer, bartender, farm worker)
—— Military
—— Housewife
—— Student
—— Government employee (Federal, state, county, city)
—— Bank employee
—— Criminal activity as major source of income
—— Other/Not easily classified (specify ——————————————————)

FORM IV – FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

Name . . . .
Project . . . .
Date Form Completed . . . .
If Plan A or B, monitoring began ——— weeks ago
If Plan C, Subject released from institution ——— weeks ago

1. Does this offender maintain regular contact with your office either in person or through monthly supervision reports?
   —— 1 – Yes, with Probation/Parole Officer only
   —— 2 – Yes, with Probation/Parole Officer and Vocational Rehabilitation Officer
   —— 3 – Yes, with Vocational Rehabilitation Officer only
   —— 4 – No, last contact with Probation/Parole Officer or Vocational Rehabilitation Officer was on ————————
   (date)

2. From monthly or other reports fill in table below with appropriate numbers: Change, 3; No change, 2; Information unknown, 1.

Monthly Report for		Address Change	Move Indicated	Employer Change	Job Change	Job Change Indicated
1st Period	2nd Period					
2nd	10th					
3rd	11th					
4th	12th					
5th	13th					
6th	14th					
7th	15th					
8th	16th					
9th	17th					
	18th					
	19th					
	20th					
	21st					
	22nd					
	23rd					
	24th					
TOTAL						

3. Is this offender presently holding a job? (Including on-the-job training)

   —— 0 – unknown
   —— 1 – No, not holding a job of any kind
   —— 2 – No, not holding a job, but is in training
   —— 3 – Yes, holding a job

4. If yes to 3, what is the job's title? . . . .

5. If the offender is currently employed, is he holding a job for which he was trained during the correctional process?

   —— 0 – unknown
   —— 1 – No training for this job was received during the correctional process
   —— 2 – Training for this job was received in an institution
   —— 3 – Training for this job was received under FOR
   —— 4 – Training for this job was received from another source (specify) . . . .

6. If the offender is currently employed, is he holding a job which he had held at some time previous to the time when this case was picked up for monitoring by FOR?

   —— 0 – unknown
   —— 1 – Yes
   —— 2 – No, never held a similar job before

7. What was the offender's income during the past month? (Include all income from all sources; personal gifts, welfare, own work, etc.)

   —— 0 – unknown
   —— 1 – No income
   —— 2 – Less than $100
   —— 3 – $100 - $250
   —— 4 – $251 - $500
   —— 5 – $501 - $750
   —— 6 – $751 - $1000
   —— 7 – Over $1000

(Revised Sept. 1966)

8. How much of this offender's income during the past month came from his own earnings (derived from his own work)?

-- 0 – Unknown
-- 1 – No income
-- 2 – Less than $100
-- 3 – $100 - $250
-- 4 – $251 - $500
-- 5 – $501 - $750
-- 6 – $751 - $1000
-- 7 – Over $1000

9. How much of this offender's income during the past month came from other sources?

-- 0 – unknown
-- 1 – No income
-- 2 – Less than $100
-- 3 – $100 - $250
-- 4 – $251 - $500
-- 5 – $501 - $750
-- 6 – $751 - $1000
-- 7 – Over $1000

10. Has this offender violated parole or probation?
(This refers to probation or parole during the time this case has been monitored by FOR)

-- 1 – Not violated
-- 2 – Violated but probation/parole not revoked
-- 3 – Probation/parole revoked for administrative violation
-- 4 – Probation/parole revoked for new offense

11. If this offender's probation/parole has been revoked, how much time (in weeks) has he been in an institution for the violation?

Number of weeks ------------------------

12. Has this offender been arrested for any illegal activity during the period since the case was picked up for monitoring by FOR?

-- Yes
-- No

If yes, then give date of apprehension, name of federal, state, or local agency which apprehended the offender, etc. down the columns. First arrest is to the left, 2nd to the right of that, and so on.

	1st arrest	2nd arrest	3rd arrest	4th arrest
Date				
Agency				
Place				
Charge				
Approximate no. of weeks between arrest and sentencing was:				
Disposition				
If disposition further custody, offender has now served this no. of weeks:				

13. Does this above report plus time served due to revocation, include all weeks spent in custody? If no, how many additional weeks were spent in custody?

Number of weeks -------------------

For what reason was the offender in custody these weeks?

FORM IV (Continued)

14. **Are you aware of complaints about this offender being registered with:**

	Who Complained	**Complaint**
Community Police		
Community Agencies, Welfare		
Voc. Rehab. Counselor		
Probation Officer		
Offender's family		
Offender		
Other (indicate)		

were assured by all sources it was highly unreliable. This resulted in confusing and inadequate data from unreliable information. It would have helped, had we had primary sources, but there were no primary sources for people no longer under supervision. Even the rearrest information posed problems since there was often a lack of consistency and specificity with transfer from one time period form to another.

Analytical Procedures

In more detail, we chose to define employment as an activity undertaken at liberty, hence, something which occurred when a man was free in the community. We considered several alternative forms of employment and consequently several possible hypotheses. What form should employment take as a measure of performance, specifically as a measure of difference between experimental/controls? To begin with, it seemed appropriate to return to VR's approach using VR's rationale; one could hypothesize that a rehabilitated client should become employed or improve his employment. Since most regular VR clients are jobless when accepted for service, just to have employment is an appropriate indicator of a change in performance from before service to after service. But since most offender clients, if in the community, are employed, we could not hypothesize that VR services alone led to the employment of the already employed.[32] Consequently, to simply note increased employment was not sufficient. It was possible, though, to hypothesize that VR services kept experimentals employed more of the time surveyed. In other words, loss of job and intermittent periods of unemployment should be minimized by VR services.

There is another alternative of looking for improvement in employment by upgrading, as it is sometimes called. In fact, VR has recently permitted upgrading as an acceptable function of its services. Upgrading is definable as increased occupational status and increased income. FOR data can be used to examine those two possibilities only with extreme difficulty. The information we got on past employment is sketchy at best. Our sources of employment information were not precise about the nature of the man's previous job, particularly if he were an unskilled laborer or a transient. Consequently, we had to grossly categorize past employment into professional, white collar, blue collar and transient. Since most upgrading would occur within those categories, we have little information on upgrading. More detailed information was available on a man's employment 9 months after he was assigned to FOR and 2 years after he was assigned and even more detailed information if he were an experimental receiving FOR services. But, lacking the previous information for comparative purposes, little can be said about upgrading in any meaningful sense.

As for income, one of the errors made in the original design of the data collection instruments was to group income into gross categories. Consequently, the possibility of change occurring, i.e., moving from one gross category to another was minimal. Our instrument would only pick up very extreme changes in income. For these two reasons, both of which are based on data collection and coding procedures, information on upgrading of employment is unavailable or unusable. Descriptive information on this area, however, is included in the report and comparisons can be made between intensives and controls, but improvement for the individual is not available. A third way of looking at employment, sometimes done by VR, is to ask whether or not employment is appropriate for the individual. This ties in quite closely with upgrading and it is a question which is very difficult for us to answer. Even with the experimentals, little information is available as to the appropriateness of their employment. As for the control population, the data collection instruments did not call for such information from a counselor or some other qualified person.

Consequently, then, within the VR framework, there are three ways of looking at employment questions: whether a client is more likely to remain employed for longer periods of time; whether his employment situation is actually improved; and whether his employment is appropriate. We have definitely ruled out the possibility of looking at appropriateness of employment. We can only describe the variables that might have been related to improvement and cannot deal with improvement. We can describe whether or not employment was maintained.

There seem to be five problems with the data we do have: 1) our reporting forms are too far removed from the primary data source, hence errors are increased and specificity is reduced – on top of that, our primary data source, monthly supervision reports, is unreliable and gives incomplete coverage of the population; 2) although our forms register employment for a specific month, that does not necessarily mean employment for the full month – it could be for a very small portion of the month; 3) some of our categories overlap, such as unemployment as a result of imprisonment or just plain lack of a job; 4) information from different parts of the form are inconsistent with each other, largely due to greater specificity of some questions which in turn yields a greater proportion of unknowns; 5) the persons for whom we had no information represented an ever larger proportion of the population over time, but there was also in this unknown portion a constant factor after nine months of the persons for whom the time limits of the study precluded us from having anything but nine months of information.

Employment information is drawn essentially from one source, the monthly supervision report that the probation/parole office requires of all people under its supervision. On this form, the supervisee is asked the name of his employer, his job title, whether or not he has changed jobs within that month and what his income was. The report source was augmented by both probation/parole officers and VRO's if they had additional or more accurate information. The supervision reports were used twice: to complete a form covering the first nine months of FOR participation and to complete another form covering the last fifteen months of participation. Information on employment, per se, was recorded as unknown, unemployed, changed jobs, didn't change jobs from month to month for a final total of 24 months.[33] The FOR form then compared and presented what happened from one month to the next, not what happened within one month. Information on income and job titles was recorded for the ninth month and the twenty-fourth month.

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[32] Although a few jails and prisons have work-release programs and most prisoners work inside, employment is still an activity essentially restricted to a free man, so we should emphasize again that employment or the lack of it, as we use the term, refers to something which happens outside of jail and in the community.

We now feel that we should have requested monthly supervision reports, but doubt that it would have improved the data appreciably since the high proportion of unknowns as a result of completed supervision would have remained. What we would have had would have been better information on the knowns. The basic problem resides in the fact that if you are unwilling to hunt for people who are no longer under supervision, you don't have the alternative of using supervision reports and there are only a couple of alternatives left: the Department of Labor and the Internal Revenue Service. Information received either from the Department of Labor or the Internal Revenue Service is problematic in three ways: 1) there is an expense involved which can be accounted for if one plans in advance; 2) there is a long delay while one waits for them to process the requests, another thing that can be counted on if planned for in advance; 3) the most problematic is that they make their information available only in aggregate form. Aggregate data requests would require considerable advanced analysis before submitting the request. The problem of receiving it in aggregate form is even more severe since it does not allow for flexibility in categorizing cases. A multiple classification system or multi-variant analysis system cannot be used as easily with aggregate data information. None of these limits of money, time or aggregate data were desirable for FOR since our close timing would not permit us those delays.

We would strongly recommend that these alternate sources of information be seriously considered by future researchers in this field and that some conversations occur, with the Department of Labor particularly, in regard to releasing this information in non-aggregate form. These would be similar to conversations we held with the FBI and which resulted in their release to FOR of non-aggregate data.

There was not the problem with recidivism data being inaccurate or scanty. There was some difficulty in converting it to a usable form in the sense that we wanted an interval measure. Most of the recidivism data were collected from local records by the counselor and the probation officer in the projects. In addition to this local reporting system we also obtained FBI arrest records covering the two-year period on about three-fourths of the FOR study group. Although the information was probably as complete as possible, arrest and incarceration data are detailed, complex and, we found, often logically inconsistent. As a result we developed a computer program to check our arrest data and to create an index based on the percentage of the two-year period spent out of the community.

Explanation of Performance Computer Program — Recidivism and Employment

The original performance analysis program was set up as an error-checking routine and was pre-tested on data from early 9-month Form IV's during the summer of 1968. (See Appendix A, pages 164-166.)

Recidivism

The program was amended in the Spring, 1969, to check for the following kinds of "errors" on both the 9-month and 2-year Form IV's plus FBI data (these errors were often the result of incomplete forms, inaccurate coding or misunderstood coding instructions and/or keypunching errors):

1. probation or parole violated — but no arrests
2. probation or parole not violated — but violation time recorded
3. probation or parole violated — no violation time
4. total time in custody greater than time covered by form IV
5. disposition of arrest jail or prison but custody time zero
6. disposition of arrest not jail or prison but custody time not zero
7. custody time, or custody time plus time between arrest and sentence time (on an arrest resulting in prison and parole violation) not equal to violation time
8. the answer to the question: "Has this man ever been arrested?" is *yes* but there is no arrest data; or, the answer is *no* but there is arrest data — past or present time period
9. a check on whether "pending" dispositions are ever resolved
10. arrest data shows incarceration while employment data shows employed.

On the first pre-test run the "error" rate was approximately 25 per cent. Two more runs were required to clean-up the data to an error rate of 1 per cent.[34] Sandwiched between each run were 2 weeks of problem-solving, card corrections and keypunching.

Also in the Spring of 1969, Form IV arrest data were supplemented by FBI Criminal Careers information. By this time we had as many completed Form IV's as we were to get for intensives and control I's. The first run of the total population with both FOR and FBI collected data resulted in a 33 per cent error rate, largely due to a misunderstanding by the coders. Two subsequent correction periods and a large program rewrite were required to reduce the error rate again to less than 1 per cent.

The original program, in addition to the checking routine, produced an arrest index or rate derived from the number of weeks incarcerated (if any) plus one week for each non-incarcerated arrest divided by 40, an arbitrary number of weeks approximating the 9-month period a client could spend in the community. This method was modified somewhat in the final program so that nine-month and 2-year arrest indices were based on the *actual* number of calendar weeks in each client's 9-month and 15-month period; a second index excluded non-incarcerated arrests, and a third index specified FOR derived data only.

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[33] For further detail on this see computer program instructions, pages 156 to 158 and the new Form IV itself found in Footnote 31.

[34] Some "errors" were, in fact, uniquely illogical situations which the program was unequipped to handle. These were corrected and indexed by hand.

In an attempt to have the performance program output data on cards which could be used in later analyses, the following recidivism items, in addition to the indices, were produced:

A. For both 9-month and total 2 years;
   1. Number of arrests.
   2. Number of individual dispositions of arrest.
   3. Number of weeks incarcerated in jail, prison, or as the result of a violation.
   4. The numerator (2 & 3 above) and the denominator (total weeks) of the arrest index.

B. For the total 2 years:
   1. The week arrested and the disposition of the first four arrests. (Only 10 out of 1,224 cases processed were arrested more than 4 times.)

   All weeks were figured from assignment for Plan A and B cases, from release date for Plan C.

   2. The arrest week of the first incarcerated arrest.
   3. The end of the last incarcerated period.
   4. Number of weeks difference between 1st and 2nd arrest. If only 1 arrest this is a negative number.
   5. Number of times jailed, imprisoned, violated. If prison and violation were the result of the same charge only violation was counted.
   6. Number of weeks incarcerated only.
   7. Number of weeks incarcerated and the concomitant rate of FOR derived data only.
   8. Sum of the source of data codes – FBI or FOR, or combination.

Employment

During the winter of 1968-69 a preliminary attempt was made to analyze the employment data from the first page of the Form IV. The data used for this analysis were the answers to the question, "Was this man employed last month?" Possible responses were unemployed, unknown, employed, changed jobs.

Subjects who had died any time within the 9-month or 15-month period were excluded. If we had no 15-month data on a case, rates were based on 9-month (35-40 weeks) only.

The employment patterns which evolved from this led to the inclusion of employment data analysis in the final performance program. The following weeks (months translated to weeks) were tallied and output on cards:

1. Number of weeks employed.
2. Number of weeks unemployed.
3. Number of weeks unknown.
4. Number of weeks in change status.
5. Number of concurrent weeks unemployed and incarcerated.
6. Number of concurrent weeks unknown and incarcerated.

TABLE 13.–EMPLOYMENT DATA PROCESSING: PROCEDURE PERFORMANCE PROGRAM USED FOR ANALYZING CHANGE CODES

		Following Code			
	3	0	1	2	3
Preceding Code	0	2	1	2	2
	1	2	2	2	2
	2	0	1	3	3
	3	0	1	3	3

1. If the first or the last month was a 3 (Change) it was considered as employment.
2. The chart above is used to determine (somewhat arbitrarily) whether an employment change should be considered a 0–unemployment, a 1–unknown, a 2–employed, or a 3–continued change.
3. For example: if a 3 was preceded by a 2 and followed by a 2 the 3 would be interpreted as a 3; if a 3 is preceded by a 1 and followed by a 2 it was interpreted as a 2.

The denominators of the rates are:

1. Total Time A = 9 months or 2 years.
2. Total Time B = 9 months or 2 years less incarcerated time.
3. Known Time = the sum of employed, change and unemployed weeks only minus unemployed weeks also incarcerated.

In general, therefore, A rates assume an individual was in the community all of the FOR time; B rates are based on non-incarcerated time only, and C rates on known time only.

1. Employed Time = the sum of employed weeks and change weeks:
    a. employed rate A = employed time divided by total time A.
    b. employed rate B = employed time divided by total time B.
    c. employed rate C = employed time divided by total time C.

    If the program discovered the individual was *employed* and *incarcerated* at the same time this information was flagged.

2. Unknown Time A = time counselor did not know anything about subject's employment status, and Unknown Time B = above unknown time minus concurrent incarcerated time:
    a. unknown rate A = unknown time B divided by total time A.
    b. unknown rate B = unknown time B divided by total time B.
    c. difference rate between A and B if any (A-B), divided by unknown rate A.
3. Unemployed Time = unemployed time minus concurrent incarcerated time:
    a. unemployed rate A = unemployed time divided by total time A.
    b. unemployed rate B = unemployed time divided by total time B.
    c. unemployed rate C = unemployed time divided by known time.
4. Change rate = sum of "change" weeks divided by employed time.

Additional Information on Performance Excluded from the Final Analysis

There are a few other scattered pieces of performance information which were systematically excluded. Information on residence and residence changes was not used, as mentioned earlier, because it was felt to be unreliable. There was a questionnaire developed for the offenders' completion describing community activities and, hopefully, to assess community integration. This form was not used, primarily because we discovered that it was very difficult for us to question them about community activities except in terms of what we found to be *acceptable* community activities. With this population, this was not always the kind of thing we felt we should be measuring. In other words, it was very difficult to develop a valid instrument for this particular population.

SUMMARY

In the end, we were dealing with two measures of performance: employment and recidivism. The recidivism index was, we felt, an excellent one. It had accounted for the errors and inconsistency in the data and it accurately portrayed the time out of the community for those who were, in fact, removed from the community. The problems with the recidivism rate as an index of performance resided in the fact that such a rate could be constructed for only 20 per cent of the population and of that 20 per cent, a majority had a recidivism index as the result of revocations, one of the structural attributes which really was not incorporated into the study. The employment information which was made into the employment index was unreliable and poorly collected. Yet, in effect, it was the only assessment of performance that we had for 80 per cent of the population. We had seriously discussed, earlier, the possibility of making these two indices additive so that we could create a joint index of employment and recidivism. We then foresaw that this profile of employment and recidivism performance could be translated into a cost-benefit form. There were many problems with this conversion other than the one which finally precluded it, namely time; primarily the deficiencies of the employment information. For example, we could not specify precisely whether or not a man had been employed in any given month, for how long and at what income. That left a conversion to cost-benefit very loose.

We also seriously considered and attempted to construct performance difference rates. These would have allowed us to deal in terms of individual improvement in criminal behavior and employment. The information was available for doing this in terms of recidivism, but only in raw data form. We would have had to create the same kind of index for past criminal activity that we created for the two years involved in the experiment and it would have required that we return to the raw data to get that kind of precision. As far as employment was concerned, this possibility seemed fairly unlikely since employment data did not necessarily include income for each job, even if the job were indicated. It did allow for the job title possibilities as well as the exact time periods of employment. That scheme broke down when we found a person who was essentially an unskilled laborer or who had at some period in his life, functioned as an unskilled laborer. Another problem with a past performance index, either of recidivism or employment, developed as a result of trying to place this performance in relationship to the man's life cycle. We were creating a rate of time out of the community, for example, over a two-year period. What sort of a rate should we create in terms of past performance? What should be the denominator? Should it be the man's actual age? That seemed unlikely since most people did not get involved in criminal activity until their teens. The other problem came in terms of how much of a life cycle altogether could be considered likely to include criminal activity until the individuals reach some sort of end point for a grand denominator. These problems we never got around to solving since our data limitations precluded proceeding on the basis of an improvement score.

We would again strongly recommend that others pursue this as a more sensitive measure of performance rather than the method which we used of assessing performance at the end of the experiment only.

Finally, the whole assessment of performance involved performance during the experiment rather than after its conclusion. In fact, in almost half of the experimental cases, it involved assessment of performance that ended before treatment was concluded. If one wishes to assess the impact of treatment, the question should be raised as to whether an assessment can be made during the process of treatment itself. Our data would indicate that a major portion of the arrests for this population occurred early in the two-year period and tapered off radically toward the end. Whether there would be any change in outcome if recidivism were measured some years after the experiment, is open to question. This same problem would not necessarily apply to changes in employment, but employment changes would need to be measured more accurately than they were under FOR for impact to be assessed several years after the end of the experiment.

We would recommend that a follow-up be made of the FOR population, but that this follow-up be done more precisely than we were able to in the assessment of performance at the end of the experimental period.

ANALYTICAL PROCEDURES

BASIC DESIGN CHANGES

The FOR program began with a design which held population attributes constant — they were assumed; no data needed to be collected. The same was true of structural attributes. Treatment was a six-category variable with the experimental-control designations cross-classified with the three points of intervention. The effects of the six categories of treatment, then, were to be examined in relationship to performance. Performance, as we have already indicated, at that time had multiple indices and wide variation could be measured.

During the life of FOR, we gradually moved to a very limited version of this: the population attributes were to be controlled; the systems attributes were still assumed and not dealt with; the variation in treatment was quite different from the original expectations. With population attributes controlled and treatment varying, the effects of treatment were to be assessed in relationship to performance, performance that included only recidivism and employment.

What we, in fact, should have had was the controlled effects of population attributes and the controlled effects of systems attributes in relationship to the differential effects of variation in treatment on performance difference scores.

STATISTICAL TECHNIQUES USED

The statistical techniques that were finally used in the analysis were essentially descriptive and cross-classification statistics. We would have liked to have used multi-variate analysis and, in fact, considered several including the AID and Multiple Classification Analysis programs from Michigan's Institute for Social Research, and multiple regression, all of which achieve a multi-variate analysis. When it came right down to it, we did not have the time after we had solved our data problems to engage in any complex form of analysis, although the design which we would have liked to have used certainly called for it. We would have also liked to have been able to carry the design a step further and include an assessment of cost benefit.

FINAL SUMMARY

In summary, the original design was based on incomplete information and was largely set by administrative, not research, criteria. Consequently, it was inadequate to the formidable task. Some amendments were made, but because the experiment was largely exploratory, it was only at the final months that the importance of a more sophisticated set of information and the outlines of a more effective design became fully apparent.

We would consequently recommend from this experience that the next study of this type approach its task in a radically different fashion. These recommendations fall into three basic groups: first, a study of this type, dealing in essentially unexplored areas should have a longer exploratory period at the beginning. This exploratory period would allow the treatment to take shape, to be structured and to be specifically defined for experimental purposes; it would also allow the research staff to determine the kind of data and design necessary to assess the effects of the experiment. This exploratory period, if we were to use FOR as an example, would have probably lasted through the first two years of FOR. It should have included the experimental structure to the extent that there was random assignment and a control group. It should have involved a preliminary examination of effects between the experimental and control group and an initial operating design with data collection instruments. At the end of the two-year period, there should have been a pause during which time the final design was prepared, the final data collection instruments would have already been pre-tested, the initial experimental treatment cases would have been closed out and things could get a fresh start. At that point, there should have been a conference at which the various new aspects of the design and data collection could have been clearly and carefully gone over with the field staff who would be collecting data; then the treatment staff should have redefined and specified the treatment in which they were going to engage and all agencies should have agreed to proceed on this new tack. Then the experiment should have begun officially and lasted for approximately the same period of time that it did, another three years in fact. At the end of this time period, the analytical process could have been somewhat shorter than it was since it would have been de-bugged in the interim. If it is impossible for such a lengthy exploration period to occur, additional analytical time will be required. Without an exploratory period when the design is de-bugged, the analysis is considerably more complex and the analytical period must be longer than was possible under FOR.

The second general recommendation which emerges from the analysis of the methods used in FOR deals with the question of basic design. Many factors which should have been included in the analysis were not a part of that design.

It was a closed-system design focused primarily on performance. We would strongly recommend that a more inclusive system be used, specifically that systems attributes be included in the design and that information on treatment and population characteristics be included. It really does not do any good to attempt to assess performance unless one has some notion of what is causing the performance to be that way and can control those sources of variation not attributable to the experimental variable.

The third general recommendation is the need to develop more sensitive measures of performance. The measures of performance which were used in this study were taken after a two-year involvement in the experiment. We feel quite strongly now that those were not sensitive enough to measure the impact of this kind of service, particularly with a strong reliance placed on recidivism. We would strongly suggest that difference scores be created. These would take the form of a percentage of time spent out of the community as a result of criminal activity before the experiment began and percentage of time out of the community during the experimental period. This percentage should decrease from past time to present time if there is an experimental impact. In terms of employment, such a difference score creates greater problems. The employment information currently available in non-aggregate form on this population is inadequate for such precision. Theoretically, such precision is possible and probable only if more discrete data can be obtained from some other data collection source, such as the Department of Labor. Again, the principle would be much the same: a score would be created on the basis of the percentage of time spent employed with a factor thrown in, perhaps, on income for that employment period. One score would be constructed for past employment and one for the experimental employment period. Obviously, the experimental employment period should be more stable and with greater income than the past employment period. Even more ideal in relation to employment, but perhaps not to recidivism, there would be a longer follow-up period. Performance under FOR was assessed during the period of the experiment. Almost half of the experimental subjects were still receiving treatment when the last assessment was taken. If adequate data can be obtained, we would strongly recommend that a follow-up study be made. Specifically, this study should focus on improved employment.

APPENDIX B

*ON THE REHABILITATION OF PUBLIC OFFENDERS

By

Saad Z. Nagi, Ph.D.
Professor, Department of Sociology
The Ohio State University

In this presentation I would like to pursue briefly some discussion of the nature and subject matter of rehabilitation, the place of public offenders in this framework, and finally some sources of possible conflict in the research-service transactions characteristic of demonstrations work. Rehabilitation has been defined in many ways—as a philosophy, as a social movement, as goals to be attained by the handicapped, and as a set of procedures and techniques. All of these definitions as well as others are certainly descriptive of some aspects of rehabilitation. However, for the purposes of our discussion here, I would like to think of rehabilitation as an applied field of knowledge about certain processes that are believed to be harmful to individuals and society or are inconsistent with the prevailing values, and of practices aimed at the prevention and/or the reversal of these processes. Parallel to medicine's concern with disease and other pathological processes, and education's concern with illiteracy and ignorance, the focal phenomena of rehabilitation are the processes through which people are rendered unable to engage in or to perform normal roles and usual activities for long or continued duration. In fact, rehabilitation does and always will overlap with medicine and education. This only reiterates the well known tendency of human problems toward clustering—low educational and socio-economic levels, lack of skills and employment problems, high rates of prevalence of ill-health and of incidence of deviant behavior.

Another area of similarity between rehabilitation on the one hand, and medicine and education on the other is that they all entail both arts and sciences. The basic physical, biological, and behavioral disciplines will continue to be the main springs of systematic scientific knowledge for applied fields. However, the ways knowledge is mobilized and combined, and the sensitivity with which it is applied to different cases require considerable personal and artistic involvement. This is not to say that a practitioner either has it or does not have it, but rather to point up the importance of communicating successful approaches and documenting effective and noneffective experiences in a way that can be shared by others. This is particularly applicable to a group like this which is pioneering into relatively new areas. It is in this way that experiences would become cumulative and greater developments in skills could be achieved. Szasz and his colleagues constructed a typology of patient or client relationships to therapists which was further refined by researchers at Columbia University. The types of relationships they outlined range from those not requiring cooperation as in the case of surgery and radiology, to those requiring not only the cooperation but also the participation of patients or clients as in the case of psychiatry and rehabilitation. I mention this in order to make the point that social skills and competence in human relations are necessary components of the abilities of those involved in rehabilitation practices.

Personal characteristics and abilities alone, however, are not enough for effective practices. If we are to avoid continued trials and errors, systematic knowledge and understanding of the nature of problems dealt with in rehabilitation become necessary ingredients. This constitutes the heart of the scientific aspects of the field. Terms like "impairment," "disability," and "handicap" have been used in many and varied ways in attempts to delineate the areas of concern for rehabilitation. The common denominator among these concepts and the one that is important in defining the phenomena focal to rehabilitation is, as mentioned earlier, the presence of long term or continued inability to engage in, or limitations in the performance of, normal roles and usual activities. Descriptions of the patterns and explanations of the processes involved in the precipitation of these inabilities and limitations, then, constitute the systematic substance of the field. It is multi-disciplinary and, as you know, is as complex as man and his relationships to his environment.

One of the general patterns of inability and limitation is that characteristic of convicted public offenders. Factors and processes involved in producing criminal and delinquent behavior are the subject of a considerable amount of research. Equally important, especially for the purposes of our discussion, are questions related to the factors and processes which influence the course of rehabilitation and reintegration into society. Although we are only at the beginning of a hard and long way and much is yet to be learned, the little that is known affords useful insights into the etiology of criminal and delinquent behavior. A number of promising leads have been advanced in explanation of this type of behavior. The patterns of association and the influence of peers and other reference groups, the self-fulfilling prophecies, the discrepancy in emphasis upon valued goals and approved means, and the limited opportunities for socially acceptable avenues of achievement, are just examples. Perhaps one of the more important developments in this respect is bringing to focus the role of environmental factors in these processes. This is of particular relevance to the problems of rehabilitation and reintegration of public offenders into society. Much needs to be learned in this area and the reason we are here today attests to that.

Before I move on to another part of the discussion, I would like to point out a number of factors that might underlie some of the difficulties faced in working with public offenders especially in placement. Many of the rehabilitation counselors involved in this study are probably more used to physical disabilities which present a somewhat different set of problems. The *first* of these factors relates to the assignment of blame and responsibility. People are more prejudiced against deviants whom they think are to blame for their acts and their situation such as in the case of public offenders, than against others whom they feel can be absolved of blame such as those disabled as a result of disease, injuries and other disorders. The ambiguity of feelings about mental illness places people falling in this category somewhere in the middle of the continuum. Evidence supporting this hypothesis can be drawn from the ways society treats the sick, the ill and the public offender, and also differences in the fates of offenders when there is an implication of sickness and when there is not. The *second* factor is one of predictability of behavior. A certain degree of ability to predict human behavior is necessary for easy and organized patterns of interaction among people. Histories of crime, delinquency and mental illness cast doubt about the stability of behavior and arouses fears about the magnitude of the deviation if and when it occurs, and hence a great deal of prejudice. This incidentally may also work in the way of a self-fulfilling prophecy—a situation counselors should be alert to in the placement of a client and in subsequent follow-ups on their performance. The *third* factor is more subtle. It was brought out in a study of mental illness in *Two Canadian Communities,* by Cummings and Cummings. They found that people could not tolerate learning that mental health and mental illness represent a continuum. An explanation given is that this destroyed their conception of themselves as being healthy as long as they are out of mental institutions. Could there be a similar process operating in regard to public offenders? And finally, a *fourth* point may be made in regard to the relationships between counselors and rehabilitees among the offenders. Effective therapy and counseling require a relationship in which the client sees the professional counselor as acting on his behalf. It would be very important that the counselor-client relationship be structured in that way rather than in a way that gives the client the doubt in the counselor's motivation or interest. Counselors whose relationships show that they are acting on behalf of institutions or society and not the client will probably meet greater guardedness and resistance on the part of clients.

Turning now to the activities of researchers and practitioners, the vital need for close cooperation between the two groups for the success of a demonstration cannot be overemphasized. There seems to be a tendency toward closed circuits of communication of research findings among researchers and of clinical and other experiences among practitioners. In addition to the problems of communication, however, there are a number of other obstacles in the way of productive cooperation. These obstacles stem from conflicting orientations of the practitioner and the researcher. I would like to point out some of the issues involved with the hope that the identification of a problem is a step toward its solution. Some of these issues may not apply to this situation.

First, is the controversy over the appropriateness of the clinical versus the statistical approach to inquiry. This controversy can best be illustrated by one of my favorite quotations from Professor Meehl's book on *Clinical Versus Statistical Predictions.* He says that advocates of the clinical method describe it as being "dynamic, global, meaningful, holistic, subtle, sympathetic, configural, patterned, rich, deep, genuine, sensitive, sophisticated, real, living, concrete, natural, true to life, and understanding." Critics of this method refer to it as "mystical, transcendent, metaphysical, supermundane, vague, hazy, subjective, unscientific, unreliable, crude, private, unverifiable, qualitative, primitive, prescientific, sloppy, uncontrolled, careless, verbalistic, and muddleheaded."

On the other hand, proponents of the statistical method view it as "operational, communicable, verifiable, public, objective, reliable, behavioral, testable, rigorous, scientific, precise, careful, trustworthy, experimental, quantitative, down-to-earth, hardheaded, empirical, mathematical, and sound." Its critics consider it "mechanical, atomistic, additive, cut and dried, artificial, unreal, arbitrary, incomplete, dead, pedantic, fractionated, trivial, forced, static, superficial, rigid, sterile, academic, oversimplified, pseudo-scientific, and blind."

This is an involved issue but it would suffice here to say that an extreme position of advocation or undermining of either approach would be not only unwarranted but harmful. As Meehl points out, the two approaches can be fruitfully combined where clinically collected data are analyzed statistically, and vice versa. Paul Dudley White's statements regarding the clinical and statistical studies in heart diseases are also applicable here. He said that his experience has been that "important clues can come from individual intelligent patients as well as from mass studies.

Second, and closely related to the first issue, is that of the orientation of practitioners toward uniquenesses and the orientation of researchers toward patterns. The function of research is the study of patterns of relationships between variables and the specification of conditions influencing these relationships.

Focusing upon individuals and their situation, the practitioner, on the other hand, is faced with unique combinations of variables in each case. An awareness of how variables relate to each other, however, should help sharpen the practitioners' judgments and aid in their analysis of the situation. Furthermore, uniquenesses and patterns are definable only in terms of each other; in other words, a unique condition is by definition one that deviates from an expected pattern. Therefore, knowledge of patterns is necessary for practitioners in identifying uniquenesses. For researchers, knowledge of conditions under which expected patterns do not hold is a fundamental concern.

Third is a subtle but an important issue—the tentativeness and finality of information. To researchers, information is always held in a tentative status, in some cases more than in others, but generally is subject to the influence of other findings and further specifications. The situation of the practitioner presents a different picture that requires delicate balance. Viewing information as highly tentative can generate lack of confidence which may damage the relationships between practitioners and patients, especially in situations of psychotherapy and counseling. On the other hand, accepting certain explanations and techniques with great finality would result in the development of personal commitment toward them as well as an attitude of defensiveness and lack of objectivity.

What is being asked of practitioners in an experiment like this is to walk the tight rope. A good deal of introspection is needed for this. It should also be pointed out that, while practices will have to be based upon available knowledge, they should be applied with a keen sense of observation and a capacity for acceptance of change.
of change.

Fourth, and most important, is the need for controls in research operations. Regardless of the objectives, theoretical or applied, research requires as many controlled conditions as possible. Such situations may be viewed as hindering to the provision of optimal services or appear as threatening to some practitioners who have developed commitment to certain ways of providing services. Some objections and fears are certainly understandable on the part of many conscientious practitioners. However, I am sure you would agree with me that providing services should not be done for the sake of the activity itself, nor should it be done for the fulfillment of a need on the part of any given practitioner. Provision of services should be guided by the two important goals: (1) contributing to the rehabilitation and welfare of clients, and (2) testing and enhancing the effectiveness of the services themselves.

The question, then, is whether or not serving these two goals would require mutually exclusive conditions. I happen to believe that the two goals are not necessarily incompatible providing, of course, that the research objectives and design do not violate any ethical standards or the orientation toward human welfare. I also realize that the requirements of some studies may call for alterations in clinical routines and cause some discomfort to practitioners. At any rate, no research is worth the time and effort if it is lacking in appreciation of the requirements of its design or in willingness to cooperate on the part of all related to its operations, whether practitioners or researchers.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that research and practices are highly specialized activities. The object of partnership such as this should not be to make practitioners out of researchers or vice versa. The aim is to complement each other's activities in pursuit of the common goals. This requires the establishment of clear and realistic understanding of the objectives, modes of operations, and requirements of each activity by those involved in the other as well as the delineation of the substance of common interests.

Going back to Szasz' typology of relationships I should say that what is needed in a demonstration of this type is not only the cooperation, but also the enthusiastic participation of practitioners, researchers and also all the agencies concerned.

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*An address, originally entitled "Toward an Understanding of Rehabilitation," presented at the Second Annual Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program Conference, June 16, 1966, Benjamin Franklin Hotel, Seattle, Washington.

APPENDIX C

LOCAL PROJECTS AND ADDRESSES

Each of the eight projects prepared progress reports, special reports and a final report. The final reports were composed largely of subjective material regarding the methods, services and results of each project. Copies may be obtained from the state vocational rehabilitation agencies listed below.

Project	*Address Request To:*
Atlanta FOR Project RD-2078-G	Office of Rehabilitation Services 270 State Office Building Atlanta, Georgia 30334
Chicago FOR Project RD-2082-G	Division of Vocational Rehabilitation 623 East Adams Street Springfield, Illinois 62706
Denver FOR Project RD-2081-G	Division of Rehabilitation 705 State Services Building Denver, Colorado 80203
Pittsburgh FOR Project RD-2077-G	Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation Labor and Industry Building 7th and Forster Streets Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17120
San Antonio FOR Project RD-2080-G	Vocational Rehabilitation Division Texas Education Agency Capitol Station Austin, Texas 78711
Seattle FOR Project RD-2079-G	Division of Vocational Rehabilitation Post Office Box 528 Olympia, Washington 98501
Springfield FOR Project RD-2083-G	Division of Vocational Rehabilitation 623 East Adams Street Springfield, Illinois 62706
Tampa FOR Project RD-2186-G	Division of Vocational Rehabilitation 725 S. Bronough Street — Room 254 Tallahassee, Florida 32304

APPENDIX D
SUMMARIES OF SUB-PROJECTS

*SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS WITH FEDERAL OFFENDERS SERVED IN THE SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS FOR PROJECT

Mr. Daniel Koenig, instructor at Eastern Illinois University, Charleston, Illinois, conducted a series of interviews with 14 men who were referred for services to the Springfield, Illinois, FOR Project. The selection of 21 candidates for interviewing was made primarily by the VR counselor and project director in consultation with Mr. Koenig. The major basis of selection was their presumed willingness to participate in a series of interviews, although there was an attempt to select men with varying degrees of involvement after being referred. Of the 21 candidates selected, 14 men were subsequently interviewed by Mr. Koenig. All of these men had been referred to and seen by the VR counselor. The primary purpose was to determine the manner in which the clients of the FOR Project perceived the program and their relationship to, and with it.

Mr. Koenig has organized his report as follows: the introduction covers methodology and purpose; Chapter II discusses the clients' perceptions of DVR along a number of dimensions; Chapter III consists of some interpretative conclusions drawn by the researcher; and he concludes with summary. The following summarizes answers to three major questions to which interviewed clients responded:

1. **Client's reaction to program and VRC.**
   - a) **Without exception, those interviewed were favorably impressed with the program possibilities and with the VR counselor working with them.**
   - b) **There was great stress on their own decision-making role in the utilization of services. The lack of pressure to utilize services seemed to be a positive factor to these men.**
   - c) **The timing of the counselor's contact made some difference in their response. Many were employed at the time of first contact and did not feel a need for service — in some instances a follow-up contact at a later date resulted in a needed service being used. Contact during a crisis period was stressed as most valuable.**
2. **Type of service clients felt to be most important.**
   - a) **The friendship and support the VR counselor provided was mentioned as the primary help they received.**
   - b) **Temporary financial assistance and vocational-educational training and placement were mentioned as the type of service through the VR program, that most offenders can utilize.**
3. **Suggestions for program expansion or change cited by the men interviewed.**
   - a) **Statewide and interstate job placement opportunities.**
   - b) **Earlier contact by VR counselor.**
   - c) **Increase in number and regularity of VR counselor's contacts.**
   - d) **Group psychotherapy programs.**
   - e) **Greater opportunity to switch vocational objectives if current involvement is unsatisfactory.**
   - f) **Increased financial assistance during long-term training programs and an increased range of occupational training programs.**

Mr. Koenig offers some program recommendations based on his interviews and observations of the Springfield FOR Project operation in his summary of the study.

***Prepared by:**
John A. Collins
Project Director
Springfield, Illinois

The complete report may be obtained from:
Division of Vocational Rehabilitation
623 East Adams Street
Springfield, Illinois 62706

*ATLANTA FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROJECT

(PLAN C SUB-PROJECT)

OUT-OF-STATE REFERRALS

RESEARCH BRIEF

In recognition of the fact that the majority of the inmate populations of most federal penal institutions are not natives of the states in which these institutions are located and consequently do not ordinarily have local release destinations, and with the resultant concern that any such majority cannot advisedly be ignored by a VR agency proposing to continue a program of services in a federal facility, the Atlanta Project requested and received authorization to incorporate in its third year grant period (RD 2078-G) a sub-project designed to test the advisability and feasibility of inaugurating a system of making out-of-state referrals.

The success of the Sub-Project was to be measured in two areas: (1) its effectiveness in enlisting positive response to referrals from other state agencies and (2) the amount of favorable follow-up data accumulated on services provided by such agencies operating under their own state concepts and policies.

IMPLICATION FOR ACTION

1. Given the limited number of clients involved, the Sub-Project was quite successful in the first of these measurement areas, in that almost all of the receiving states responded in positive fashions, at least to the extent of reflecting interest in working with the referrals. However, failure was basically experienced in the second area for a variety of reasons not believed to be attributable to the receiving agencies. Yet, in substance, there was ample indication that a similar study should be attempted once again, but on a more elaborate basis.

2. A longer period of study is needed. The suggested span is three years.

3. Full-time staff should be employed rather than assigning personnel whose primary responsibilities lie elsewhere.

4. It is strongly suggested that ample allowance be made for the provision of services by the host agencies (or VR offices local to the institutions) while clients are still incarcerated, thus permitting (a) referral to receiving states on a basis more attractive than evaluation alone and (b) time in which to develop workable client-VR relationships and inaugurate the rehabilitation process.

5. Services provided prior to release might include the following: (a) counseling, (b) group psychotherapy, (c) prosthetic appliances under special circumstances when they are not provided by the Bureau of Prisons, (d) correspondence courses, (e) supplementary training materials and textbooks and (f) hearing aids, which the Bureau of Prisons does not supply.

SUPPORTIVE FINDINGS

1. While it was originally hoped that all cases would have been evaluated by March 1, 1968, permitting the launching of case services at that point, it was impossible to secure authorization for the Sub-Project until that date, and thus the initial process of case screening did not begin until then.

2. The proposed operating design called for work with selected releasees of July, August and September, 1968, from the U. S. Penitentiary, Atlanta; but the release lists for these months did not yield anywhere near the number of anticipated potential clients primarily because (a) the total number of dischargees fell below expectation and (b) the number of dischargees under detainer was much greater than originally estimated.

3. In view of the time consumed in case screening, interviewing and evaluation, case services during incarceration had to be virtually eliminated and referrals were made on the less attractive basis of evaluation alone.

4. Since the Plan C counselor was responsible for the conduct of the Sub-Project on a part-time, or additional assignment, basis, intense concentration on the development of client-counselor relationships was not realized. Again because of the time factor, referred clients were released after only three or four diagnostic interviews and for the most part departed unconvinced that vocational rehabilitation services had anything substantive to offer them.

5. Consequently a number of them made no effort to follow through with the interviews arranged for them with the receiving home state agencies.

6. Although almost all of the receiving states responded with interest to the referrals made prior to client release, and although most of these agencies apparently made sincere contact efforts even if the releasees referred to them did not, a number of cases had to be dropped either due to inability to locate or client failure in follow-up.

7. Since most state VR agencies are not budgeted sufficiently to serve all of their own disabled citizenry, and since no production reward system has as yet been devised for making out-of-state referrals, it is anticipated that difficulty will be encountered in sparking the interest of potential host agencies toward adopting a program similar to the one outlined in this Sub-Project, even though residency is no longer a legal criterion for eligibility.

8. The Sub-Project was originally designed to involved 100 clients; shortly after its inception reality factors dictated an anticipated reduction to 50 referrals; ultimately time permitted the adoption of only 26 cases.

9. 135 cases were screened and 52 cases were determined acceptable at the screening level.

10. 83 cases were rejected at the screening level, 14 being beyond the age limit established by the parent FOR Program, 4 due to lack of U. S. citizenship, 21 due to Georgia release destinations (thus negating the necessity for out-of-state referrals) and 38 due to detainers.

11. Of the 83, only 6 were rejected at the screening level due to excessive criminal records or conviction of crimes believed to be too unattractive in nature to permit realistic anticipation of successful referral.

12. 42 of the clients found acceptable at the screening level were interviewed and 10 were not due to unexpected early release dates (parole or extra good time granted).

13. Of the 42 interviewed, 26 said that they were interested in receiving referral services and 16 said that they were not. The 26 who expressed interest were placed on the caseload.

14. Of the 26 who initially expressed interest, 5 ultimately dropped out because they decided on second thought that they were unwilling to undergo psychological evaluation.

15. An additional 2 did not receive projective testing due to unexpected early release. Referrals were nevertheless made in these cases without comprehensive evaluation.

16. Of those who did complete psychological evaluation, all 19 were found to be eligible under normal VR criteria at least on the basis of behavioral disorder, and none were considered non-feasible.

17. 21 out-of-state referrals were actually made. The following items pertain to information gathered from the receiving state agencies.

18. 18 states accepted referral prior to release, at least to the extent of expressing willingness to consider personal application from the clients referred.

19. The response of 2 states was indistinct and it was not possible to assess interest.

20. Only 1 state responded to referral prior to release in the negative.

21. The following items pertain to follow-up data gathered from the receiving state agencies.

22. 1 client was closed rehabilitated (in VR Status No. 26).

23. 5 clients were in active status at the close of the Sub-Project.

24. 2 clients were still in referred status at the close of the Project.

25. 1 active client was closed in other than Status No. 26.

26. 12 clients were not placed on caseloads, primarily due to lack of contact.

*Prepared by:
W. Scott Fulton
Project Coordinator

Copies may be obtained from:
Office of Rehabilitation Services
270 State Office Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30334

APPENDIX E

FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM
FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

SEPTEMBER 16-19, 1968

SUMMARY OF GROUP REPORTS

During the San Antonio Conference, the participants were divided into five groups. Each of these groups worked up rather voluminous reports in answer to questions sent out prior to the Conference. The summary below is the FOR Program staff's reaction to the reports, based on discussions which followed the presentation of these reports. Although in narrative form, the numbered statements may be considered as tentative staff recommendations.

Cooperative Effort

A common premise revealed in comments from the group and general meetings was that corrections and VR have a joint task in correctional rehabilitation. Because of this common task (1) a Federal committee should be established to act as a formal vehicle for collaboration between the agencies, federal, state and local, with rehabilitation and correctional responsibilities. That these agencies would all require changes in philosophy, attitudes and policies was accepted.

On a local level, a corollary of the joint task premise is the **premise that the rehabilitation and correctional staff should function as a team. (2) The team was seen as functioning even before referral, during the initial screening process. To illustrate the change in thinking involved here, one group noted those team members involved in institutional screening are the institution's caseworker, the *future* parole officer, and the VR counselor. They did not list simply staff from the agency making the referral and immediately responsible for the client. (3) The team concept was also seen as applicable in planning VR activities. If the client is to be released to an area beyond the original VR counselor's jurisdiction, the receiving VR counselor should become involved in the planning process. Throughout, the legal differences in the roles of team members were recognized and were expected to remain. It was also expected that these differences would be made known to the client.**

Administration

(4) Concerning the administration of correctional rehabilitation programs, a cross agency administrative unit needs to be established which will allow the team to operate. The administrators should have a thorough familiarity with the goals and purposes of the program. (5) Common case records should be kept and shared by the various agencies represented on the team. The records would travel with the client. (6) In the special case of federal ofenders, 100% funds need to be provided to eliminate the problem of interstate referral, problems of third party matching, etc.

Staff

(7) As for the *team staff* itself, it was realized that special personnel need to be selected, persons who are temperamentally suited to work with the offender population. "The staff member needs the capacity to get indignant at the right point in his relationships with the client." "He must be willing to overcome the threat of genuine relationships and able not only to tolerate emotion, but occasionally to evoke it." (Quotations are drawn from group reports. Acknowledgments would only be confusing.) They will need to develop new skills and techniques in order to work with this client. (8) The development of short-term training institutes was suggested. These institutes should involve staff from both rehabilitation and corrections and should include subject matter specifically on correctional rehabilitation counseling. (9) As a further device to prepare correctional rehabilitation staff members in in-service training, an internship or on-the-job training was suggested. In some cases, there should be an exchange of personnel between correctional and rehabilitation agencies.

(10) To keep the job manageable, small caseloads were recommended. (11) That advantage should be augmented by the use of counselor-aides and community volunteers. (12) Certainly in recruitment of staff, ex-offenders should receive serious consideration.

Clients

(13) It was agreed that rehabilitation agencies would have to accept the fact that with public offender clients, they will have "to stop waiting for the client to come see them." Also, VR eligibility will need to be updated. (14) There appears to be considerable support for a VR Amendment, making offenders eligible per se and services immediately available until decisions can be reached on need and the feasibility of a rehabilitation plan. Such a change would remove questions about the use of examinations to certify eligibility.

Counseling and Ancillary Services

Counselors on the correctional rehabilitation team "should be seen as change agents, charged with the responsibility to change behavior patterns." This is a long range goal, but short range goals should also be considered. (15) "For example, a short range objective may mean provision of basic needs in an effort to stabilize a client's situation so that further planning may be developed." (16) Client goals should be considered in making an initial plan, i.e., the short range goal. (17) At all times, plans should be amendable, flexible and innovative.

(18) Necessary to any service with offender clients is immediate and tangible assistance. "When VR cannot provide immediate services, when needed, the ability to serve the public offender will be quite limited. Administrators at both Federal and State levels are encouraged to review regulations which may, at present, prevent immediate services." Some of the services needed are (19) emergency cash, (20) specialized counseling such as marital and financial counseling, and (21) legal assistance in civil matters, such as divorce proceedings. (22) Since the problems of many offender clients are intricately intertwined with those of other people, particularly family members, the 1968 VR Amendment, allowing service to the family as a unit, should be implemented.

Two basic types of facilities are needed: (23) pre-release guidance centers for inmates on work or school release and (24) voluntary halfway houses for releasees needing a supportive setting. (25) As for workshops and other facilities, existing facilities should be used to prevent further offender isolation from the community.

A word of caution is required here; offenders should not be placed with other specialized disability groups, such as the mentally retarded, when they will see this as further stigmatization.

In regard to any of the services rendered, the service "assumes significance only if it meets individual needs." The above seems to be implied in one description of counseling; counseling is effective when it manages to "communicate sustained concern for the client's struggles and a recognition of his unique value as a human being." Calling the approach, "action therapy" and describing it as immediate and persistent, the task is to provide services at the point of need and on a continuous basis, despite the frustration of interim failure, always striving to change the client's behavior patterns. "The minor problems of life should be satisfied in order to leave the client with the minimum of immediate preoccupation with which to occupy his mind and divert him from self-confrontation.

(26) With these kinds of objectives and problems, VR will need to re-examine its emphasis on closure.

Everyone recognized the magnitude of the correctional rehabilitation task. The whole job cannot be undertaken immediately. Some priorities as to who should be served will be necessary. These priorities should be established through research and the joint efforts of correctional and rehabilitation agencies. The choices will have to carefully avoid the selection of offender clients because they appear to be deserving or responsive. Both these criteria may well be myths.

The skeleton on which all these pieces can be hung was provided by one group; the necessary elements of an interagency agreement. (A copy of this outline follows.)

OUTLINE FOR INTERAGENCY AGREEMENTS

I. Introduction and Purpose

   A. Title
   B. Rationale for agreement
   C. Epitome of agreement (who, what, when, where and how)

II. Scope and Limitations

III. Administrative Procedures

   A. Statement of statutory or legislative requirements
   B. Statement of or the naming of the administrative heads responsible for implementation and advice of agreement
   C. Statement of line staff directly charged with implementation of the agreement

IV. Financial Responsibilities

   A. Interagency logistics
   B. Client services

V. Vocational Rehabilitation Responsibility

VI. Corrections Responsibility

VII. Joint Responsibility

- A. Team approach
- B. Staff orientation, training and conferences
- C. Exchange of confidential information with interagency continuity
- D. Public relations
- E. Records and reports

VIII. Eligibility Requirements

IX. Referral and Transfer Procedures

X. Review and Evaluation

XI. Statement of Compliance

APPENDIX F

ADDITIONAL STATISTICAL MATERIAL

Tables 1 through 48 relate to Chapter III, 49 through 53 to Chapter IV, 54 through 67 to Chapter V, 68 through 72 to Chapter VI. Explanation as to the content of these tables may be found in the chapter designated.

Not all tables represent the same number of cases due to the exclusion of unknowns and coding errors. All percentages are shown as summing to 100.0 although this may vary.

TABLE 1.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF LEGAL STATUSES BY PROJECT

	Probationers	Institutional Pre-Releasees	Parolees	Mandatory Releasees	Military Parolees	TOTAL
Atlanta A	53.3 (65)	0.0 (0)	27.0 (33)	19.7 (24)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (122)
Chicago A	65.5 (55)	4.8 (4)	16.7 (14)	13.1 (11)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (84)
Denver A	55.5 (81)	0.0 (0)	28.8 (42)	15.8 (23)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (146)
Seattle A	44.7 (71)	0.0 (0)	36.5 (58)	16.4 (26)	2.5 (26)	100.0 (159)
Tampa A	45.6 (68)	0.0 (0)	38.9 (58)	14.1 (21)	1.3 (2)	100.0 (149)
Pittsburgh B	62.7 (69)	0.0 (0)	16.4 (18)	20.9 (23)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (110)
San Antonio B	31.0 (39)	0.0 (0)	31.7 (40)	37.3 (47)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (126)
Springfield B	32.7 (48)	0.0 (0)	38.1 (56)	27.9 (41)	1.4 (2)	100.0 (147)
Atlanta C	0.0 (0)	100.0 (81)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (81)
Denver C	0.0 (0)	96.9 (31)	3.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (32)
Seattle C	0.0 (0)	100.0 (66)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (66)
TOTAL	40.6 (496)	14.9 (182)	26.2 (320)	17.7 (216)	0.7 (8)	100.0 (1222)

TABLE 2.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF OFFENSE (GROUPED) WHICH LED TO *FOR* INCLUSION BY PROJECT

	Misc.	Forgery	Auto Theft	Drugs	Assault	TOTAL
Atlanta A	17.2	41.0	25.4	12.3	4.1	100.0
	(21)	(50)	(31)	(15)	(5)	(122)
Chicago A	24.7	42.0	8.6	24.7	0.0	100.0
	(20)	(34)	(7)	(20)	(0)	(81)
Denver A	32.4	27.5	23.2	10.6	6.3	100.0
	(46)	(39)	(33)	(15)	(9)	(142)
Seattle A	19.7	30.6	34.4	8.9	6.4	100.0
	(31)	(48)	(54)	(14)	(10)	(157)
Tampa A	25.0	29.7	31.1	9.5	4.7	100.0
	(37)	(44)	(46)	(14)	(7)	(148)
Pittsburgh B	29.2	22.6	19.8	22.6	5.7	100.0
	(31)	(24)	(21)	(24)	(6)	(106)
San Antonio B	10.3	40.5	5.6	42.1	1.6	100.0
	(13)	(51)	(7)	(53)	(2)	(126)
Springfield B	23.1	29.4	37.1	2.8	7.7	100.0
	(33)	(42)	(53)	(4)	(11)	(143)
Atlanta C	3.7	30.9	39.5	17.3	8.6	100.0
	(3)	(25)	(32)	(14)	(7)	(81)
Denver C	6.5	19.4	71.0	3.2	0.0	100.0
	(2)	(6)	(22)	(1)	(0)	(31)
Seattle C	24.2	34.8	21.2	19.7	0.0	100.0
	(16)	(23)	(14)	(13)	(0)	(66)
TOTAL	21.0	32.1	26.6	15.5	4.7	100.0
	(253)	(386)	(320)	(187)	(57)	(1203)

TABLE 3.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF AGE AT FIRST ARREST BY PROJECT

	Unknown	12 & Under	13-15	16-17	18-20	21-24	25 & Over	TOTAL
Atlanta A	4.9 (6)	4.9 (6)	6.6 (8)	19.7 (24)	20.5 (25)	22.1 (27)	21.3 (26)	100.0 (122)
Chicago A	13.1 (11)	1.2 (1)	6.0 (5)	6.0 (5)	19.0 (16)	23.8 (20)	31.0 (26)	100.0 (84)
Denver A	7.5 (11)	7.5 (11)	17.7 (26)	17.7 (26)	19.7 (29)	12.9 (19)	17.0 (25)	100.0 (147)
Seattle A	3.7 (6)	5.6 (9)	17.5 (28)	16.9 (27)	18.1 (29)	18.1 (29)	20.0 (32)	100.0 (160)
Tampa A	6.0 (9)	4.7 (7)	12.8 (19)	15.4 (23)	18.1 (27)	16.8 (25)	26.2 (39)	100.0 (149)
Pittsburgh B	12.7 (14)	8.2 (9)	10.0 (11)	8.2 (9)	15.5 (17)	12.7 (14)	32.7 (36)	100.0 (110)
San Antonio B	7.9 (10)	0.0 (0)	5.6 (7)	23.8 (30)	27.0 (34)	19.8 (25)	15.9 (20)	100.0 (126)
Springfield B	6.1 (9)	4.8 (7)	17.0 (25)	25.2 (37)	20.4 (30)	12.9 (19)	13.6 (20)	100.0 (147)
Atlanta C	3.7 (3)	4.9 (4)	11.0 (9)	22.0 (18)	19.5 (16)	26.8 (22)	12.2 (10)	100.0 (82)
Denver C	3.1 (1)	21.9 (7)	53.1 (17)	12.5 (4)	9.4 (3)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (32)
Seattle C	1.5 (1)	6.0 (4)	11.9 (8)	20.9 (14)	23.9 (16)	16.4 (11)	19.4 (13)	100.0 (67)
TOTAL	6.6 (81)	5.3 (65)	13.3 (163)	17.7 (217)	19.7 (242)	17.2 (211)	20.1 (247)	100.0 (1226)

TABLE 4.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF AGE AT FIRST COMMITMENT BY PROJECT

	Unknown	None	13 & Under	14-15	16-17	18-20	21 & Over	TOTAL
Atlanta A	1.6 (2)	54.9 (67)	0.8 (1)	3.3 (4)	9.0 (11)	7.4 (9)	23.0 (28)	100.0 (122)
Chicago A	9.5 (8)	63.1 (53)	2.4 (2)	6.0 (5)	3.6 (3)	4.8 (4)	10.7 (9)	100.0 (84)
Denver A	4.8 (7)	47.6 (70)	4.1 (6)	7.5 (11)	10.9 (16)	10.9 (16)	14.3 (21)	100.0 (147)
Seattle A	3.1 (5)	47.5 (76)	0.6 (1)	5.6 (9)	9.4 (15)	11.9 (19)	21.9 (35)	100.0 (160)
Tampa A	4.7 (7)	49.7 (74)	4.7 (7)	6.0 (9)	4.7 (7)	11.4 (17)	18.8 (28)	100.0 (149)
Pittsburgh B	11.8 (13)	52.7 (58)	2.7 (3)	1.8 (2)	6.4 (7)	11.8 (13)	12.7 (14)	100.0 (110)
San Antonio B	4.8 (6)	47.6 (60)	1.6 (2)	3.2 (4)	4.8 (6)	13.5 (17)	24.6 (31)	100.0 (126)
Springfield B	4.8 (7)	57.8 (85)	1.4 (2)	8.8 (13)	6.8 (10)	8.8 (13)	11.6 (17)	100.0 (147)
Atlanta C	2.4 (2)	8.5 (7)	3.7 (3)	4.9 (4)	12.2 (10)	17.1 (14)	51.2 (42)	100.0 (82)
Denver C	3.1 (1)	56.3 (18)	6.3 (2)	18.8 (6)	12.5 (4)	3.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (32)
Seattle C	1.5 (1)	23.9 (16)	0.0 (0)	9.0 (6)	14.9 (10)	17.9 (12)	32.8 (22)	100.0 (67)
TOTAL	4.8 (59)	47.6 (584)	2.4 (29)	6.0 (73)	8.1 (99)	11.0 (135)	20.1 (247)	100.0 (1226)

TABLE 5.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF TOTAL NUMBER OF ARRESTS BY PROJECT

	Unknown	1-2	3-4	5-8	9-12	13 & Over	TOTAL
Atlanta A	1.6 (2)	30.3 (37)	24.6 (30)	24.6 (30)	8.2 (10)	10.7 (13)	100.0 (122)
Chicago A	10.7 (9)	52.4 (44)	9.5 (8)	10.7 (9)	7.1 (6)	9.5 (8)	100.0 (84)
Denver A	4.8 (7)	32.0 (47)	16.3 (24)	23.1 (34)	6.8 (10)	17.0 (25)	100.0 (147)
Seattle A	4.4 (7)	30.0 (48)	20.0 (32)	25.6 (41)	11.2 (18)	8.7 (14)	100.0 (160)
Tampa A	5.4 (8)	34.9 (52)	19.5 (29)	17.4 (26)	10.1 (15)	12.7 (19)	100.0 (149)
Pittsburgh B	10.9 (12)	39.1 (43)	10.0 (11)	21.8 (24)	11.8 (13)	6.4 (7)	100.0 (110)
San Antonio B	6.3 (8)	33.3 (42)	14.3 (18)	14.3 (18)	18.3 (23)	13.5 (17)	100.0 (126)
Springfield B	5.5 (8)	40.1 (59)	13.6 (20)	19.7 (29)	11.6 (17)	9.5 (14)	100.0 (147)
Atlanta C	3.6 (3)	4.9 (4)	7.3 (6)	29.3 (24)	20.7 (17)	34.1 (28)	100.0 (82)
Denver C	3.1 (1)	18.8 (6)	28.1 (9)	37.5 (12)	6.3 (2)	6.3 (2)	100.0 (32)
Seattle C	1.5 (1)	16.4 (11)	10.4 (7)	25.4 (17)	22.4 (15)	23.9 (16)	100.0 (67)
TOTAL	5.4 (66)	32.1 (393)	15.8 (194)	21.5 (264)	11.9 (146)	13.3 (163)	100.0 (1226)

TABLE 6.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF PRIOR U. S. BUREAU OF PRISONS COMMITMENTS BY PROJECT

	Unk.	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 Or More	TOTAL
Atlanta A	0.8	54.9	23.8	6.6	2.5	4.1	1.6	0.8	3.3	1.6	100.0
	(1)	(67)	(29)	(8)	(3)	(5)	(2)	(1)	(4)	(2)	(122)
Chicago A	9.5	64.3	13.1	1.2	8.3	2.4	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	(8)	(54)	(11)	(1)	(7)	(2)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(84)
Denver A	4.1	49.7	21.8	8.2	7.5	4.8	2.0	0.7	0.0	1.4	100.0
	(6)	(73)	(32)	(12)	(11)	(7)	(3)	(1)	(0)	(2)	(147)
Seattle A	3.7	49.4	17.5	7.5	8.1	5.6	1.9	3.1	1.2	1.9	100.0
	(6)	(79)	(28)	(12)	(13)	(9)	(3)	(5)	(2)	(3)	(160)
Tampa A	5.4	50.3	18.1	8.7	6.0	2.0	4.7	2.0	0.7	2.0	100.0
	(8)	(75)	(27)	(13)	(9)	(3)	(7)	(3)	(1)	(3)	(149)
Pittsburgh B	11.8	53.6	12.7	9.1	4.5	2.7	1.8	1.8	0.0	1.8	100.0
	(13)	(59)	(14)	(10)	(5)	(3)	(2)	(2)	(0)	(2)	(110)
San Antonio B	4.8	49.2	19.0	10.3	7.9	4.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	100.0
	(6)	(62)	(24)	(13)	(10)	(5)	(5)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(126)
Springfield B	4.1	58.5	11.6	8.8	6.1	6.8	0.0	2.0	0.7	1.4	100.0
	(6)	(86)	(17)	(13)	(9)	(10)	(0)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(147)
Atlanta C	2.4	8.5	7.3	17.1	11.0	11.0	9.8	4.9	7.3	20.7	100.0
	(2)	(7)	(6)	(14)	(9)	(9)	(8)	(4)	(6)	(17)	(82)
Denver C	3.1	59.4	21.9	12.5	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	(1)	(19)	(7)	(4)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(32)
Seattle C	1.5	29.9	16.4	7.5	13.4	4.5	3.0	3.0	9.0	11.9	100.0
	(1)	(20)	(11)	(5)	(9)	(3)	(2)	(2)	(6)	(8)	(67)
TOTAL	4.7	49.0	16.8	8.6	7.0	4.6	2.7	1.7	1.6	3.3	100.0
	(58)	(601)	(206)	(105)	(86)	(56)	(33)	(21)	(20)	(40)	(1226)

TABLE 7.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF MOST SERIOUS PRIOR OFFENSE BY PROJECT

	Unknown	None	Adult Felony	Misdemeanor	Juvenile	TOTAL
Atlanta A	1.6 (2)	55.7 (68)	24.6 (30)	10.7 (13)	7.4 (9)	100.0 (122)
Chicago A	9.5 (8)	63.1 (53)	14.3 (12)	7.1 (84)	6.0 (5)	100.0 (84)
Denver A	3.4 (5)	47.6 (70)	25.2 (37)	9.5 (14)	14.3 (21)	100.0 (147)
Seattle A	3.1 (5)	48.1 (77)	26.9 (43)	8.7 (14)	13.1 (21)	100.0 (160)
Tampa A	4.7 (7)	49.7 (74)	28.9 (43)	6.7 (10)	10.1 (15)	100.0 (149)
Pittsburgh B	12.7 (14)	50.0 (55)	23.6 (26)	8.2 (9)	5.5 (6)	100.0 (110)
San Antonio B	4.8 (6)	47.6 (60)	35.7 (45)	9.5 (12)	2.4 (3)	100.0 (126)
Springfield B	4.1 (6)	57.8 (85)	17.7 (26)	12.9 (19)	7.5 (11)	100.0 (147)
Atlanta C	2.4 (2)	7.3 (6)	79.3 (65)	3.7 (3)	7.3 (6)	100.0 (82)
Denver C	3.1 (1)	56.3 (18)	3.1 (1)	6.3 (2)	31.3 (10)	100.0 (32)
Seattle C	3.0 (2)	28.4 (19)	58.2 (39)	6.0 (4)	4.5 (3)	100.0 (67)
TOTAL	4.7 (58)	47.7 (585)	29.9 (367)	8.6 (106)	9.0 (110)	100.0 (1226)

TABLE 8.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF AGE (AT TIME OF ASSIGNMENT TO *FOR*) BY PROJECT

	18-19	20-21	22-25	26-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60 & Over	TOTAL
Atlanta A	0.0	1.6	17.2	22.1	22.1	16.4	9.0	5.7	3.3	2.5	0.0	100.0
	(0)	(2)	(21)	(27)	(27)	(20)	(11)	(7)	(4)	(3)	(0)	(122)
Chicago A	0.0	2.4	11.9	25.0	21.4	9.5	9.5	3.6	7.1	6.0	3.6	100.0
	(0)	(2)	(10)	(21)	(18)	(8)	(8)	(3)	(6)	(5)	(3)	(84)
Denver A	1.4	3.4	25.9	16.3	15.0	8.8	11.6	9.5	3.4	2.0	2.7	100.0
	(2)	(5)	(38)	(24)	(22)	(13)	(17)	(14)	(5)	(3)	(4)	(147)
Seattle A	0.6	6.3	20.0	21.2	15.6	7.5	8.1	6.9	6.3	5.0	2.5	100.0
	(1)	(10)	(32)	(34)	(25)	(12)	(13)	(11)	(10)	(8)	(4)	(160)
Tampa A	0.0	4.0	20.8	16.1	13.4	10.1	14.8	6.7	8.1	4.7	1.3	100.0
	(0)	(6)	(31)	(24)	(20)	(15)	(22)	(10)	(12)	(7)	(2)	(149)
Pittsburgh B	0.0	1.8	12.7	10.9	17.3	16.4	6.4	17.3	10.0	6.4	0.9	100.0
	(0)	(2)	(14)	(12)	(19)	(18)	(7)	(19)	(11)	(7)	(1)	(110)
San Antonio B	0.0	0.0	8.7	19.8	27.0	21.4	11.9	4.8	4.0	2.4	0.0	100.0
	(0)	(0)	(11)	(25)	(34)	(27)	(15)	(6)	(5)	(3)	(0)	(126)
Springfield B	0.0	3.4	29.9	18.4	16.3	9.5	8.2	6.1	4.1	0.7	3.4	100.0
	(0)	(5)	(44)	(27)	(24)	(14)	(12)	(9)	(6)	(1)	(5)	(147)
Atlanta C	0.0	0.0	1.2	1.2	12.2	25.6	18.3	26.8	3.7	8.5	2.4	100.0
	(0)	(0)	(1)	(1)	(10)	(21)	(15)	(22)	(3)	(7)	(2)	(82)
Denver C	6.3	21.9	62.5	3.1	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1	100.0
	(2)	(7)	(20)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(32)
Seattle C	0.0	0.0	1.5	4.5	22.4	11.9	25.4	14.9	11.9	6.0	1.5	100.0
	(0)	(0)	(1)	(3)	(15)	(8)	(17)	(10)	(8)	(4)	(1)	(67)
TOTAL	0.4	3.2	18.2	16.2	17.5	12.7	11.2	9.1	5.7	3.9	1.9	100.0
	(5)	(39)	(223)	(199)	(215)	(156)	(137)	(111)	(70)	(48)	(23)	(1226)

TABLE 9.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF RACE/ETHNICITY BY PROJECT

	Unknown	White	Black	American Indian	Oriental	Spanish-American	TOTAL
Atlanta A	0.0 (0)	65.6 (80)	34.4 (42)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (122)
Chicago A	6.0 (5)	32.1 (27)	57.1 (48)	1.2 (1)	0.0 (0)	3.6 (3)	100.0 (84)
Denver A	2.7 (4)	79.6 (117)	13.6 (20)	2.7 (4)	0.0 (0)	1.4 (2)	100.0 (147)
Seattle A	3.1 (5)	82.5 (132)	11.9 (19)	1.2 (2)	0.6 (1)	0.6 (1)	100.0 (160)
Tampa A	1.3 (2)	87.2 (130)	10.7 (16)	0.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (149)
Pittsburgh B	3.6 (4)	59.1 (65)	37.3 (41)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (110)
San Antonio B	1.6 (2)	67.5 (85)	14.3 (18)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	16.7 (21)	100.0 (126)
Springfield B	4.1 (6)	80.3 (118)	15.6 (23)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (147)
Atlanta C	3.7 (3)	73.2 (60)	23.2 (19)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (82)
Denver C	3.1 (1)	81.3 (26)	9.4 (3)	6.3 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (32)
Seattle C	1.5 (1)	68.7 (46)	26.9 (18)	3.0 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (67)
TOTAL	2.7 (33)	72.3 (886)	21.8 (267)	1.0 (12)	2.2 (1)	0.1 (27)	100.0 (1226)

TABLE 10.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF NUMBER OF COMPLETED SCHOOL YEARS BY PROJECT

	Unk.	None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-11	12	13-15	16 & Over	TOTAL
Atlanta A	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.8	6.6	26.2	32.0	20.5	9.8	2.5	100.0
	(2)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(8)	(32)	(39)	(25)	(12)	(3)	(122)
Chicago A	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	19.0	42.9	27.4	4.8	0.0	100.0
	(4)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(16)	(36)	(23)	(4)	(0)	(84)
Denver A	4.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.8	19.0	33.3	28.6	5.4	4.8	100.0
	(6)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(7)	(28)	(49)	(42)	(8)	(7)	(147)
Seattle A	4.4	0.0	0.0	0.6	1.2	11.2	46.2	25.6	8.7	1.9	100.0
	(7)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(2)	(18)	(74)	(41)	(14)	(3)	(160)
Tampa A	3.4	0.7	0.0	4.7	4.0	21.5	32.9	24.8	5.4	2.7	100.0
	(5)	(1)	(0)	(7)	(6)	(32)	(49)	(37)	(8)	(4)	(149)
Pittsburgh B	0.9	0.0	0.0	3.6	2.7	15.5	46.4	20.9	6.4	3.6	100.0
	(1)	(0)	(0)	(4)	(3)	(17)	(51)	(23)	(7)	(4)	(110)
San Antonio B	3.2	0.0	0.8	4.8	15.1	29.4	28.6	13.5	4.0	0.8	100.0
	(4)	(0)	(1)	(6)	(19)	(37)	(36)	(17)	(5)	(1)	(126)
Springfield B	4.1	0.0	0.0	0.7	6.1	24.5	41.5	18.4	4.8	0.0	100.0
	(6)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(9)	(36)	(61)	(27)	(7)	(0)	(147)
Atlanta C	3.7	1.2	1.2	9.8	19.5	20.7	29.3	8.5	4.9	1.2	100.0
	(3)	(1)	(1)	(8)	(16)	(17)	(24)	(7)	(4)	(1)	(82)
Denver C	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	21.9	65.6	6.3	0.0	3.1	100.0
	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(7)	(21)	(2)	(0)	(1)	(32)
Seattle C	6.0	0.0	1.5	6.0	3.0	22.4	37.3	19.4	1.5	3.0	100.0
	(4)	(0)	(1)	(4)	(2)	(15)	(25)	(13)	(1)	(2)	(67)
TOTAL	3.5	0.2	0.2	2.6	6.0	20.8	37.9	21.0	5.7	2.1	100.0
	(43)	(2)	(3)	(32)	(73)	(255)	(465)	(257)	(70)	(26)	(1226)

TABLE 11.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF MARITAL STATUS BY PROJECT

	Unknown	Single	Married	Divorced	Separated	Widowed	Common-Law	TOTAL
Atlanta A	0.0 (0)	26.2 (32)	41.0 (50)	13.9 (17)	13.1 (16)	0.0 (0)	5.7 (7)	100.0 (122)
Chicago A	4.8 (4)	22.6 (19)	21.4 (18)	8.3 (7)	28.6 (24)	4.8 (4)	9.5 (8)	100.0 (84)
Denver A	2.7 (4)	38.1 (56)	34.7 (51)	12.9 (19)	7.5 (11)	1.4 (2)	2.7 (4)	100.0 (147)
Seattle A	2.5 (4)	39.4 (63)	27.5 (44)	18.8 (30)	10.0 (16)	0.0 (0)	1.9 (3)	100.0 (160)
Tampa A	2.0 (3)	32.2 (48)	40.3 (60)	15.4 (23)	8.7 (13)	0.0 (0)	1.3 (2)	100.0 (149)
Pittsburgh B	0.9 (1)	26.4 (29)	46.4 (51)	11.8 (13)	6.4 (7)	0.9 (1)	7.3 (8)	100.0 (110)
San Antonio B	2.4 (3)	23.0 (29)	43.7 (55)	12.7 (16)	11.1 (14)	0.0 (0)	7.1 (9)	100.0 (126)
Springfield B	2.7 (4)	36.7 (54)	28.6 (42)	15.6 (23)	10.9 (16)	0.0 (0)	5.4 (8)	100.0 (147)
Atlanta C	2.4 (2)	9.8 (8)	36.6 (30)	22.0 (18)	14.6 (12)	2.4 (2)	12.2 (10)	100.0 (82)
Denver C	3.1 (1)	87.5 (28)	6.3 (2)	0.0 (0)	3.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (32)
Seattle C	3.0 (2)	17.9 (12)	26.9 (18)	28.4 (19)	10.4 (7)	1.5 (1)	11.9 (8)	100.0 (67)
TOTAL	2.3 (28)	30.8 (378)	34.3 (421)	15.1 (185)	11.2 (137)	0.8 (10)	5.5 (67)	100.0 (1226)

TABLE 12.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF PRIOR OCCUPATION BY PROJECT

	Prof.	Mgr.	Clerical	Service	Farm	Processing	Mach.	Benchwork	Structural	Unclassified	TOTAL
Atlanta A	13.9	2.5	18.0	18.0	2.5	3.3	1.6	2.5	18.9	18.9	100.0
	(17)	(3)	(22)	(22)	(3)	(4)	(2)	(3)	(23)	(23)	(122)
Chicago A	35.7	0.0	23.8	28.6	2.4	0.0	1.2	3.6	2.4	2.4	100.0
	(30)	(0)	(20)	(24)	(2)	(0)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(2)	(84)
Denver A	24.5	10.2	15.6	13.6	4.8	1.4	2.7	1.4	10.2	15.6	100.0
	(36)	(15)	(23)	(20)	(7)	(2)	(4)	(2)	(15)	(23)	(147)
Seattle A	20.6	7.5	11.2	16.9	2.5	2.5	4.4	2.5	15.0	16.9	100.0
	(33)	(12)	(18)	(27)	(4)	(4)	(7)	(4)	(24)	(27)	(160)
Tampa A	22.1	6.7	13.4	11.4	2.0	0.7	4.0	3.4	14.1	22.1	100.0
	(33)	(10)	(20)	(17)	(3)	(1)	(6)	(5)	(21)	(33)	(149)
Pittsburgh B	11.8	9.1	17.3	18.2	1.8	2.7	4.5	3.6	9.1	21.8	100.0
	(13)	(10)	(19)	(20)	(2)	(3)	(5)	(4)	(10)	(24)	(110)
San Antonio B	20.6	2.4	7.9	18.3	3.2	0.8	3.2	4.0	15.9	23.8	100.0
	(26)	(3)	(10)	(23)	(4)	(1)	(4)	(5)	(20)	(30)	(126)
Springfield B	24.5	6.8	13.6	13.6	4.1	4.8	6.1	2.7	11.6	12.2	100.0
	(36)	(10)	(20)	(20)	(6)	(7)	(9)	(4)	(17)	(18)	(147)
Atlanta C	20.7	1.2	11.0	18.3	4.9	2.4	4.9	7.3	12.2	17.1	100.0
	(17)	(1)	(9)	(15)	(4)	(2)	(4)	(6)	(10)	(14)	(82)
Denver C	53.1	0.0	3.1	18.8	12.5	0.0	6.3	0.0	0.0	6.3	100.0
	(17)	(0)	(1)	(6)	(4)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(2)	(32)
Seattle C	17.9	7.5	10.4	13.4	3.0	0.0	6.0	4.5	10.4	26.9	100.0
	(12)	(5)	(7)	(9)	(2)	(0)	(4)	(3)	(7)	(18)	(67)
TOTAL	22.0	5.6	13.8	16.6	3.3	2.0	3.9	3.2	12.2	17.5	100.0
	(270)	(69)	(169)	(203)	(41)	(24)	(48)	(39)	(149)	(214)	(1226)

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TABLE 13.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF JUDGMENT OF HEALTH (AT TIME OF ASSIGNMENT TO *FOR*) BY PROJECT

	Unknown	Satisfactory	Remedial Disability	Permanent Disability	TOTAL
Atlanta A	8.2 (10)	77.9 (95)	4.9 (6)	9.0 (11)	100.0 (122)
Chicago A	10.7 (9)	51.2 (43)	26.2 (22)	11.9 (10)	100.0 (84)
Denver A	8.2 (12)	72.8 (107)	12.9 (19)	6.1 (9)	100.0 (147)
Seattle A	6.3 (10)	70.0 (112)	15.0 (24)	8.7 (14)	100.0 (160)
Tampa A	8.7 (13)	55.7 (83)	16.8 (25)	18.8 (28)	100.0 (149)
Pittsburgh B	7.3 (8)	66.4 (73)	20.0 (22)	6.4 (7)	100.0 (110)
San Antonio B	8.7 (11)	64.3 (81)	14.3 (18)	12.7 (16)	100.0 (126)
Springfield B	8.2 (12)	69.4 (102)	17.0 (25)	5.4 (8)	100.0 (147)
Atlanta C	2.4 (2)	65.9 (54)	15.9 (13)	15.9 (13)	100.0 (82)
Denver C	3.1 (1)	75.0 (24)	15.6 (5)	6.3 (2)	100.0 (32)
Seattle C	4.5 (3)	67.2 (45)	4.5 (3)	23.9 (16)	100.0 (67)
TOTAL	8.6 (91)	66.8 (819)	14.8 (182)	10.9 (134)	100.0 (1226)

TABLE 14.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF USE OF ALCOHOL BY PROJECT

	Unknown	Non-User	Social Drinker	Problem Drinker	TOTAL
Atlanta A	26.2 (32)	9.8 (12)	47.5 (58)	16.4 (20)	100.0 (122)
Chicago A	36.9 (31)	13.1 (11)	44.0 (37)	6.0 (5)	100.0 (84)
Denver A	25.2 (37)	10.9 (16)	47.6 (70)	16.3 (24)	100.0 (147)
Seattle A	32.5 (52)	7.5 (12)	41.9 (67)	18.1 (29)	100.0 (160)
Tampa A	40.3 (60)	12.1 (18)	26.8 (40)	20.8 (31)	100.0 (149)
Pittsburgh B	50.0 (55)	10.9 (12)	30.0 (33)	9.1 (10)	100.0 (110)
San Antonio B	31.0 (39)	8.7 (11)	52.4 (66)	7.9 (10)	100.0 (126)
Springfield B	42.9 (63)	4.8 (7)	36.1 (53)	16.3 (24)	100.0 (147)
Atlanta C	45.1 (37)	3.7 (3)	20.7 (17)	30.5 (25)	100.0 (82)
Denver C	68.8 (22)	3.1 (1)	18.8 (6)	9.4 (3)	100.0 (32)
Seattle C	29.9 (20)	3.0 (2)	43.3 (29)	23.9 (16)	100.0 (67)
TOTAL	36.5 (448)	8.6 (105)	38.8 (476)	16.1 (197)	100.0 (1226)

TABLE 15.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF USE OF NARCOTICS BY PROJECT

	Unknown	Non-User	Marijuana Only	Hard Narcotics	Certified User	Non-Specified	TOTAL
Atlanta A	9.0 (11)	88.5 (108)	2.5 (3)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (122)
Chicago A	15.5 (13)	65.5 (55)	0.0 (0)	15.5 (13)	2.4 (2)	1.2 (1)	100.0 (84)
Denver A	14.3 (21)	80.3 (118)	2.0 (3)	2.7 (4)	0.0 (0)	0.7 (1)	100.0 (147)
Seattle A	11.9 (19)	80.6 (129)	3.7 (6)	3.7 (6)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (160)
Tampa A	15.4 (23)	81.2 (121)	1.3 (2)	1.3 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.7 (1)	100.0 (149)
Pittsburgh B	20.0 (22)	72.7 (80)	1.8 (2)	5.5 (6)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (110)
San Antonio B	5.6 (7)	54.0 (68)	3.2 (4)	35.7 (45)	1.6 (2)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (126)
Springfield B	10.9 (16)	82.3 (121)	3.4 (5)	0.7 (1)	0.7 (1)	2.0 (3)	100.0 (147)
Atlanta C	11.0 (9)	86.6 (71)	1.2 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	1.2 (1)	100.0 (82)
Denver C	3.1 (1)	93.8 (30)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	3.1 (1)	100.0 (32)
Seattle C	4.5 (3)	86.6 (58)	1.5 (1)	7.5 (5)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (67)
TOTAL	11.8 (145)	78.2 (959)	2.2 (27)	6.7 (82)	0.4 (5)	0.7 (8)	100.0 (1226)

TABLE 16.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF LEGAL STATUS BY PROJECT

	INTENSIVES					CONTROLS				
	Prob.	Releasees	Parolees	Mandatory Releasees	TOTAL	Prob.	Releasees	Parolees	Mandatory Releasees	TOTAL
Atlanta A	54.1	0.0	26.2	19.7	100.0	52.5	0.0	27.9	19.7	100.0
	(33)	(0)	(16)	(12)	(61)	(32)	(0)	(17)	(12)	(61)
Chicago A	62.7	2.0	19.6	15.7	100.0	69.7	9.1	12.1	9.1	100.0
	(32)	(1)	(10)	(8)	(51)	(23)	(3)	(4)	(3)	(33)
Denver A	50.7	0.0	26.0	23.3	100.0	60.3	0.0	31.5	8.2	100.0
	(37)	(0)	(19)	(17)	(73)	(44)	(0)	(23)	(6)	(73)
Seattle A	43.8	0.0	40.0	16.2	100.0	45.6	0.0	38.0	16.5	100.0
	(35)	(0)	(32)	(13)	(80)	(36)	(0)	(30)	(13)	(79)
Tampa A	45.2	0.0	37.0	17.8	100.0	46.1	0.0	43.4	10.5	100.0
	(33)	(0)	(27)	(13)	(73)	(35)	(0)	(33)	(8)	(76)
Pittsburgh B	64.8	0.0	16.7	18.5	100.0	60.7	0.0	16.1	23.2	100.0
	(35)	(0)	(9)	(10)	(54)	(34)	(0)	(9)	(13)	(56)
San Antonio B	17.5	0.0	44.4	38.1	100.0	44.4	0.0	19.0	36.5	100.0
	(11)	(0)	(28)	(24)	(63)	(28)	(0)	(12)	(23)	(63)
Springfield B	34.7	0.0	41.7	23.6	100.0	30.7	0.0	37.3	32.0	100.0
	(25)	(0)	(30)	(17)	(72)	(23)	(0)	(28)	(24)	(75)
Atlanta C	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	(0)	(42)	(0)	(0)	(42)	(0)	(39)	(0)	(0)	(39)
Denver C	0.0	94.1	*5.9	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	(0)	(16)	(1)	(0)	(17)	(0)	(15)	(0)	(0)	(15)
Seattle C	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	(0)	(36)	(0)	(0)	(36)	(0)	(30)	(0)	(0)	(30)
TOTAL	38.7	15.3	27.7	18.3	100.0	42.5	14.5	26.0	17.0	100.0
	(241)	(95)	(172)	(114)	(622)	(255)	(87)	(156)	(102)	(600)

*This case appears to be due to a coding error.

TABLE 17.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF OFFENSE (GROUPED) WHICH LED TO INCLUSION IN *FOR* WITHIN PROJECTS

	INTENSIVES						CONTROLS					
	Misc.	Forgery	Auto	Drugs	Assault	TOTAL	Misc.	Forgery	Auto	Drugs	Assault	TOTAL
Atlanta A	13.1	39.3	29.5	14.8	3.3	100.0	21.3	42.6	21.3	9.8	4.9	100.0
	(8)	(24)	(18)	(9)	(2)	(61)	(13)	(26)	(13)	(6)	(3)	(61)
Chicago A	30.0	40.0	6.0	24.0	0.0	100.0	16.1	45.2	12.9	25.8	0.0	100.0
	(15)	(20)	(3)	(12)	(0)	(50)	(5)	(14)	(4)	(8)	(0)	(31)
Denver A	33.8	25.4	28.2	8.5	4.2	100.0	31.0	29.6	18.3	12.7	8.5	100.0
	(24)	(18)	(20)	(6)	(3)	(71)	(22)	(21)	(13)	(9)	(6)	(71)
Seattle A	22.5	31.3	37.5	5.0	3.7	100.0	16.9	29.9	31.2	13.0	9.1	100.0
	(18)	(25)	(30)	(4)	(3)	(80)	(13)	(23)	(24)	(10)	(7)	(77)
Tampa A	26.0	23.3	32.9	12.3	5.5	100.0	24.0	36.0	29.3	6.7	4.0	100.0
	(19)	(17)	(24)	(9)	(4)	(73)	(18)	(27)	(22)	(5)	(3)	(75)
Pittsburgh B	42.6	16.7	18.5	16.7	5.6	100.0	15.4	28.8	21.2	28.8	5.8	100.0
	(23)	(9)	(10)	(9)	(3)	(54)	(8)	(15)	(11)	(15)	(3)	(52)
San Antonio B	6.3	38.1	7.9	46.0	1.6	100.0	14.3	42.9	3.2	38.1	1.6	100.0
	(4)	(24)	(5)	(29)	(1)	(63)	(9)	(27)	(2)	(24)	(1)	(63)
Springfield B	25.7	32.9	34.3	2.9	4.3	100.0	20.5	26.0	39.7	2.7	11.0	100.0
	(18)	(23)	(24)	(2)	(3)	(70)	(15)	(19)	(29)	(2)	(8)	(73)
Atlanta C	2.3	32.6	44.2	14.0	7.0	100.0	5.3	28.9	34.2	21.1	10.5	100.0
	(1)	(14)	(19)	(6)	(3)	(43)	(2)	(11)	(13)	(8)	(4)	(38)
Denver C	5.9	5.9	82.2	0.0	0.0	100.0	7.1	35.7	50.0	7.1	0.0	100.0
	(1)	(1)	(15)	(0)	(0)	(17)	(1)	(5)	(7)	(1)	(0)	(14)
Seattle C	22.2	41.7	19.4	16.7	0.0	100.0	26.7	26.7	23.3	23.3	0.0	100.0
	(5)	(18)	(7)	(6)	(0)	(36)	(8)	(8)	(7)	(7)	(0)	(30)
TOTAL	22.5	30.7	28.3	14.9	3.6	100.0	19.5	33.5	24.8	16.2	6.0	100.0
	(139)	(190)	(175)	(92)	(22)	(618)	(114)	(196)	(145)	(95)	(35)	(585)

TABLE 18.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF AGE AT FIRST ARREST BY PROJECT

	INTENSIVES			CONTROLS		
	17 and Under	18 and Over	TOTAL	17 and Under	18 and Over	TOTAL
Atlanta A	32.2	67.8	100.0	33.3	66.7	100.0
	(19)	(40)	(59)	(19)	(38)	(57)
Chicago A	17.0	83.0	100.0	11.5	88.5	100.0
	(8)	(39)	(47)	(3)	(23)	(26)
Denver A	42.9	57.1	100.0	50.0	50.0	100.0
	(30)	(40)	(70)	(33)	(33)	(66)
Seattle A	45.6	54.4	100.0	37.3	62.7	100.0
	(36)	(43)	(79)	(28)	(47)	(75)
Tampa A	34.8	65.2	100.0	35.2	64.8	100.0
	(24)	(45)	(69)	(25)	(46)	(71)
Pittsburgh B	28.3	71.7	100.0	32.0	68.0	100.0
	(13)	(33)	(46)	(16)	(34)	(50)
San Antonio B	31.6	68.4	100.0	32.2	67.8	100.0
	(18)	(39)	(57)	(19)	(40)	(59)
Springfield B	49.3	50.7	100.0	50.7	49.3	100.0
	(34)	(35)	(69)	(35)	(34)	(69)
Atlanta C	34.9	65.1	100.0	44.4	55.6	100.0
	(15)	(28)	(43)	(16)	(20)	(36)
Denver C	100.0	0.0	100.0	78.6	21.4	100.0
	(17)	(0)	(17)	(11)	(3)	(14)
Seattle C	36.1	63.9	100.0	43.3	56.7	100.0
	(13)	(23)	(36)	(13)	(17)	(30)
TOTAL	38.3	61.7	100.0	39.4	60.6	100.0
	(227)	(365)	(592)	(218)	(335)	(553)

TABLE 19.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF AGE AT FIRST COMMITMENT BY PROJECT

	INTENSIVES				CONTROLS			
	None	17 Under	18 Over	TOTAL	None	17 Under	18 Over	TOTAL
Atlanta A	61.0	10.2	28.8	100.0	50.8	16.4	32.8	100.0
	(36)	(6)	(17)	(59)	(31)	(10)	(20)	(61)
Chicago A	71.7	13.0	15.2	100.0	66.7	13.3	20.0	100.0
	(33)	(6)	(7)	(46)	(20)	(4)	(6)	(30)
Denver A	55.7	24.3	20.0	100.0	44.3	22.9	32.9	100.0
	(39)	(17)	(14)	(70)	(31)	(16)	(23)	(70)
Seattle A	53.2	15.2	31.6	100.0	44.7	17.1	38.2	100.0
	(42)	(12)	(25)	(79)	(34)	(13)	(29)	(76)
Tampa A	44.9	21.7	33.3	100.0	58.9	11.0	30.1	100.0
	(31)	(15)	(23)	(69)	(43)	(8)	(22)	(73)
Pittsburgh B	75.0	6.3	18.8	100.0	44.9	18.4	36.7	100.0
	(36)	(3)	(9)	(48)	(22)	(9)	(18)	(49)
San Antonio B	45.8	10.2	44.1	100.0	54.1	9.8	36.1	100.0
	(27)	(6)	(26)	(59)	(33)	(6)	(22)	(61)
Springfield B	63.8	23.2	13.0	100.0	57.7	19.7	22.5	100.0
	(44)	(9)	(16)	(69)	(41)	(16)	(14)	(71)
Atlanta C	7.0	16.3	76.7	100.0	10.8	27.0	62.2	100.0
	(3)	(7)	(33)	(43)	(4)	(10)	(23)	(37)
Denver C	52.9	47.1	0.0	100.0	64.3	28.6	7.1	100.0
	(9)	(8)	(0)	(17)	(9)	(4)	(1)	(14)
Seattle C	27.8	13.9	58.3	100.0	20.0	36.7	43.3	100.0
	(10)	(5)	(21)	(36)	(6)	(11)	(13)	(30)
TOTAL	52.1	15.8	32.1	100.0	47.9	18.7	33.4	100.0
	(310)	(94)	(191)	(595)	(274)	(107)	(191)	(572)

TABLE 20.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF TOTAL NUMBER OF ARRESTS BY PROJECT

	INTENSIVES				CONTROLS			
	0-2	3-8	Over 9	TOTAL	0-2	3-8	Over 9	TOTAL
Atlanta A	31.7	48.3	20.0	100.0	30.0	51.7	18.3	100.0
	(19)	(29)	(12)	(60)	(18)	(31)	(11)	(60)
Chicago A	54.3	26.1	19.6	100.0	65.5	17.2	17.2	100.0
	(25)	(12)	(9)	(46)	(19)	(5)	(5)	(29)
Denver A	37.1	35.7	27.1	100.0	30.4	47.8	21.7	100.0
	(26)	(25)	(19)	(70)	(21)	(33)	(15)	(69)
Seattle A	29.1	51.9	19.0	100.0	33.8	43.2	23.0	100.0
	(23)	(41)	(15)	(79)	(25)	(32)	(17)	(74)
Tampa A	35.8	40.3	23.9	100.0	39.7	38.4	21.9	100.0
	(24)	(27)	(16)	(67)	(29)	(28)	(16)	(73)
Pittsburgh B	53.1	32.7	14.3	100.0	36.7	38.8	24.5	100.0
	(26)	(16)	(7)	(49)	(18)	(19)	(12)	(49)
San Antonio B	38.6	21.1	40.4	100.0	32.8	39.3	27.9	100.0
	(22)	(12)	(23)	(57)	(20)	(24)	(17)	(61)
Springfield B	49.3	26.1	24.6	100.0	37.5	43.1	19.4	100.0
	(34)	(18)	(17)	(69)	(27)	(31)	(14)	(72)
Atlanta C	4.7	37.2	58.1	100.0	8.1	37.8	54.1	100.0
	(2)	(16)	(25)	(43)	(3)	(14)	(20)	(37)
Denver C	11.8	76.5	11.8	100.0	28.6	57.1	14.3	100.0
	(2)	(13)	(2)	(17)	(4)	(8)	(2)	(14)
Seattle C	16.7	44.4	38.9	100.0	16.7	26.7	56.7	100.0
	(6)	(16)	(14)	(36)	(5)	(8)	(17)	(30)
TOTAL	35.2	37.9	26.8	100.0	33.3	41.0	25.7	100.0
	(209)	(225)	(159)	(593)	(189)	(233)	(146)	(568)

TABLE 21.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF NUMBER OF PRIOR BUREAU OF PRISONS COMMITMENTS BY PROJECT

	INTENSIVES					CONTROLS				
	None	One	2-3	Over 4	TOTAL	None	One	2-3	Over 4	TOTAL
Atlanta A	60.0 (36)	23.3 (14)	10.0 (6)	6.7 (4)	100.0 (60)	50.8 (31)	24.6 (15)	8.2 (5)	16.4 (10)	100.0 (61)
Chicago A	73.9 (34)	10.9 (5)	8.7 (4)	6.5 (3)	100.0 (46)	66.7 (20)	20.0 (6)	13.3 (4)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (30)
Denver A	57.7 (41)	14.1 (10)	14.1 (10)	14.1 (10)	100.0 (71)	45.7 (33)	31.4 (22)	18.6 (13)	4.3 (3)	100.0 (70)
Seattle A	51.9 (41)	16.5 (13)	13.9 (11)	17.7 (14)	100.0 (79)	50.7 (38)	20.0 (15)	18.7 (14)	10.7 (8)	100.0 (75)
Tampa A	44.1 (30)	25.0 (17)	17.6 (12)	13.2 (9)	100.0 (68)	61.6 (45)	13.7 (10)	13.7 (10)	11.0 (8)	100.0 (73)
Pittsburgh B	77.1 (37)	12.5 (6)	6.3 (3)	4.2 (2)	100.0 (48)	44.9 (22)	16.3 (8)	24.5 (12)	14.3 (7)	100.0 (49)
San Antonio B	45.8 (27)	22.0 (13)	20.3 (12)	11.3 (7)	100.0 (59)	57.4 (35)	18.0 (11)	18.0 (11)	6.6 (4)	100.0 (61)
Springfield B	65.2 (45)	14.5 (10)	14.5 (10)	5.8 (4)	100.0 (69)	56.9 (41)	9.7 (7)	16.7 (12)	16.7 (12)	100.0 (72)
Atlanta C	7.0 (3)	9.3 (4)	25.6 (11)	58.1 (25)	100.0 (43)	10.8 (4)	5.4 (2)	32.4 (12)	51.4 (19)	100.0 (37)
Denver C	58.8 (10)	23.5 (4)	17.6 (3)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (17)	64.3 (9)	21.4 (3)	14.3 (2)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (14)
Seattle C	33.3 (12)	16.7 (6)	25.0 (9)	25.0 (9)	100.0 (36)	26.7 (8)	16.7 (5)	16.7 (5)	40.0 (12)	100.0 (30)
TOTAL	53.0 (310)	17.1 (102)	15.3 (91)	14.6 (87)	100.0 (596)	49.8 (285)	18.2 (104)	17.5 (100)	14.5 (83)	100.0 (572)

TABLE 22.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF MOST SERIOUS PRIOR COMMITMENT BY PROJECT

	INTENSIVES					CONTROLS				
	None	Misdem.	Juvenile	Felony	TOTAL	None	Misdem.	Juvenile	Felony	TOTAL
Atlanta A	61.0	8.5	10.2	20.3	100.0	52.5	13.1	4.9	29.5	100.0
	(36)	(5)	(6)	(12)	(59)	(32)	(8)	(3)	(18)	(61)
Chicago A	71.7	10.9	4.3	13.0	100.0	66.7	3.3	10.0	20.0	100.0
	(33)	(5)	(2)	(6)	(46)	(20)	(1)	(3)	(6)	(30)
Denver A	54.9	5.6	9.9	29.6	100.0	43.7	14.1	19.7	22.5	100.0
	(39)	(4)	(7)	(21)	(71)	(31)	(10)	(14)	(16)	(71)
Seattle A	50.6	7.6	13.9	27.8	100.0	48.7	10.5	13.2	27.6	100.0
	(40)	(6)	(11)	(22)	(79)	(37)	(8)	(10)	(21)	(76)
Tampa A	42.0	5.8	15.9	36.2	100.0	61.6	8.2	5.5	24.7	100.0
	(29)	(4)	(11)	(25)	(69)	(45)	(6)	(4)	(18)	(73)
Pittsburgh B	70.8	6.3	4.2	18.8	100.0	43.8	12.5	8.3	35.4	100.0
	(34)	(3)	(2)	(9)	(48)	(21)	(6)	(4)	(17)	(48)
San Antonio B	44.1	6.8	3.4	45.8	100.0	55.7	13.1	1.6	29.5	100.0
	(26)	(4)	(2)	(27)	(59)	(34)	(8)	(1)	(18)	(61)
Springfield B	63.8	11.6	8.7	15.9	100.0	56.9	15.3	6.9	20.8	100.0
	(44)	(8)	(6)	(11)	(69)	(41)	(11)	(5)	(15)	(72)
Atlanta C	4.8	2.4	9.5	83.3	100.0	10.5	5.3	5.3	78.9	100.0
	(2)	(1)	(4)	(35)	(42)	(4)	(2)	(2)	(30)	(38)
Denver C	52.9	5.9	35.3	5.9	100.0	64.3	7.1	28.6	0.0	100.0
	(9)	(1)	(6)	(1)	(17)	(9)	(1)	(4)	(0)	(14)
Seattle C	34.3	8.6	2.9	54.3	100.0	23.3	3.3	6.7	66.7	100.0
	(12)	(3)	(1)	(19)	(35)	(7)	(1)	(2)	(20)	(30)
TOTAL	51.2	7.4	9.8	31.6	100.0	49.0	10.8	9.1	31.2	100.0
	(304)	(44)	(58)	(188)	(594)	(281)	(62)	(52)	(179)	(574)

TABLE 23.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF AGE GROUPINGS BY PROJECT

	INTENSIVES				CONTROLS			
	29 Under	30-39	40 Over	TOTAL	29 Under	30-39	40 Over	TOTAL
Atlanta A	41.0	39.3	19.7	100.0	41.0	37.7	21.3	100.0
	(25)	(24)	(12)	(61)	(25)	(23)	(13)	(61)
Chicago A	37.3	33.3	29.4	100.0	42.4	27.3	30.3	100.0
	(19)	(17)	(15)	(51)	(14)	(9)	(10)	(33)
Denver A	46.6	24.7	28.8	100.0	47.3	23.0	29.7	100.0
	(34)	(18)	(21)	(73)	(35)	(17)	(22)	(74)
Seattle A	56.3	17.5	26.2	100.0	40.0	28.7	31.3	100.0
	(45)	(14)	(21)	(80)	(32)	(23)	(25)	(80)
Tampa A	49.3	23.3	27.4	100.0	32.9	23.7	43.4	100.0
	(36)	(17)	(20)	(73)	(25)	(18)	(33)	(76)
Pittsburgh B	27.8	31.5	40.7	100.0	23.2	35.7	41.1	100.0
	(15)	(17)	(22)	(54)	(13)	(20)	(23)	(56)
San Antonio B	19.0	54.0	27.0	100.0	38.1	42.9	19.0	100.0
	(12)	(34)	(17)	(63)	(24)	(27)	(12)	(63)
Springfield B	58.3	18.1	23.6	100.0	45.3	33.3	21.3	100.0
	(42)	(13)	(17)	(72)	(34)	(25)	(16)	(75)
Atlanta C	0.0	34.9	65.1	100.0	5.1	41.0	53.8	100.0
	(0)	(15)	(28)	(43)	(2)	(16)	(21)	(39)
Denver C	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	86.7	6.7	6.7	100.0
	(17)	(0)	(0)	(17)	(13)	(1)	(1)	(15)
Seattle C	5.6	38.9	55.6	100.0	6.5	29.0	64.5	100.0
	(2)	(14)	(20)	(36)	(2)	(9)	(20)	(31)
TOTAL	39.6	29.4	31.0	100.0	36.3	31.2	32.5	100.0
	(247)	(183)	(193)	(623)	(219)	(188)	(196)	(603)

TABLE 24.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF ETHNICITY BY PROJECT

	INTENSIVES				CONTROLS			
	White	Black	Other	TOTAL	White	Black	Other	TOTAL
Atlanta A	68.9	31.1	0.0	100.0	62.3	37.7	0.0	100.0
	(42)	(19)	(0)	(61)	(38)	(23)	(0)	(61)
Chicago A	32.7	63.3	4.1	100.0	36.7	56.7	6.7	100.0
	(16)	(31)	(2)	(49)	(11)	(17)	(2)	(30)
Denver A	80.6	15.3	4.2	100.0	83.1	12.7	4.2	100.0
	(58)	(11)	(3)	(72)	(59)	(9)	(3)	(71)
Seattle A	82.5	13.7	3.7	100.0	88.0	10.7	1.3	100.0
	(66)	(11)	(3)	(80)	(66)	(8)	(1)	(75)
Tampa A	90.4	8.2	1.4	100.0	86.5	13.5	0.0	100.0
	(66)	(6)	(1)	(73)	(64)	(10)	(0)	(74)
Pittsburgh B	69.8	30.2	0.0	100.0	52.8	47.2	0.0	100.0
	(37)	(16)	(0)	(53)	(28)	(25)	(0)	(53)
San Antonio B	72.6	12.9	14.5	100.0	64.5	16.1	19.4	100.0
	(45)	(8)	(9)	(62)	(40)	(10)	(12)	(62)
Springfield B	79.7	20.3	0.0	100.0	87.5	12.5	0.0	100.0
	(55)	(14)	(0)	(69)	(63)	(9)	(0)	(72)
Atlanta C	73.8	26.2	0.0	100.0	78.4	21.6	0.0	100.0
	(31)	(11)	(0)	(42)	(29)	(8)	(0)	(37)
Denver C	94.1	5.9	0.0	100.0	71.4	14.3	14.3	100.0
	(16)	(1)	(0)	(17)	(10)	(2)	(2)	(14)
Seattle C	66.7	30.6	2.8	100.0	73.3	23.3	3.3	100.0
	(24)	(11)	(1)	(36)	(22)	(7)	(1)	(30)
TOTAL	74.3	22.6	3.1	100.0	74.3	22.1	3.6	100.0
	(456)	(139)	(19)	(614)	(430)	(128)	(21)	(579)

TABLE 25.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF NUMBER COMPLETED SCHOOL YEARS BY PROJECT

	INTENSIVES				CONTROLS			
	Thru 8	9-11	Over 12	TOTAL	Thru 8	9-11	Over 12	TOTAL
Atlanta A	33.3 (20)	33.3 (20)	33.3 (20)	100.0 (60)	35.0 (21)	31.7 (19)	33.3 (20)	100.0 (60)
Chicago A	24.0 (12)	48.0 (24)	28.0 (14)	100.0 (50)	16.7 (5)	40.0 (12)	43.3 (13)	100.0 (30)
Denver A	29.6 (21)	31.0 (22)	39.4 (28)	100.0 (71)	20.0 (14)	38.6 (27)	41.4 (29)	100.0 (70)
Seattle A	16.5 (13)	51.9 (41)	31.6 (25)	100.0 (79)	10.8 (8)	44.6 (33)	44.6 (33)	100.0 (74)
Tampa A	33.8 (24)	36.6 (26)	29.6 (21)	100.0 (71)	30.1 (22)	31.5 (23)	38.4 (28)	100.0 (73)
Pittsburgh B	25.9 (14)	42.6 (23)	31.5 (17)	100.0 (54)	18.2 (10)	50.9 (28)	30.9 (17)	100.0 (55)
San Antonio B	54.1 (33)	31.1 (19)	14.8 (9)	100.0 (61)	49.2 (30)	27.9 (17)	23.0 (14)	100.0 (61)
Springfield B	33.3 (23)	46.4 (32)	20.3 (14)	100.0 (69)	31.9 (23)	40.3 (29)	27.8 (20)	100.0 (72)
Atlanta C	48.8 (21)	39.5 (17)	11.6 (5)	100.0 (43)	61.1 (22)	19.4 (7)	19.4 (7)	100.0 (36)
Denver C	23.5 (4)	70.6 (12)	5.9 (1)	100.0 (17)	21.4 (3)	64.3 (9)	14.3 (2)	100.0 (14)
Seattle C	40.0 (14)	37.1 (13)	22.9 (8)	100.0 (35)	28.6 (8)	42.9 (12)	28.6 (8)	100.0 (28)
TOTAL	32.6 (199)	40.8 (249)	26.6 (162)	100.0 (610)	29.0 (166)	37.7 (216)	33.3 (191)	100.0 (573)

TABLE 26.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF MARITAL STATUS BY PROJECT

	INTENSIVES				CONTROLS			
	Single	D/S/W	Married	TOTAL	Single	D/S/W	Married	TOTAL
Atlanta A	26.2 (16)	26.2 (16)	47.5 (29)	100.0 (61)	26.2 (16)	39.3 (24)	34.4 (21)	100.0 (61)
Chicago A	20.0 (10)	52.0 (26)	28.0 (14)	100.0 (50)	30.0 (9)	43.3 (13)	26.7 (8)	100.0 (30)
Denver A	41.7 (30)	22.2 (16)	36.1 (26)	100.0 (72)	36.6 (26)	25.4 (18)	38.0 (27)	100.0 (71)
Seattle A	45.0 (36)	22.5 (18)	32.5 (26)	100.0 (80)	35.5 (27)	40.8 (31)	23.7 (18)	100.0 (76)
Tampa A	38.4 (28)	24.7 (18)	37.0 (27)	100.0 (73)	27.4 (20)	27.4 (20)	45.2 (33)	100.0 (73)
Pittsburgh B	27.8 (15)	18.5 (10)	53.7 (29)	100.0 (54)	25.5 (14)	32.7 (18)	41.8 (23)	100.0 (55)
San Antonio B	18.3 (11)	28.3 (17)	53.3 (32)	100.0 (60)	28.6 (18)	34.9 (22)	36.5 (23)	100.0 (63)
Springfield B	41.4 (29)	30.0 (21)	28.6 (20)	100.0 (70)	34.2 (25)	35.6 (26)	30.1 (22)	100.0 (73)
Atlanta C	11.9 (5)	47.6 (20)	40.5 (17)	100.0 (42)	7.9 (3)	52.6 (20)	39.5 (15)	100.0 (38)
Denver C	94.1 (16)	5.9 (1)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (17)	85.7 (12)	0.0 (0)	14.3 (2)	100.0 (14)
Seattle C	25.0 (9)	41.7 (15)	33.3 (12)	100.0 (36)	10.3 (3)	65.5 (19)	24.1 (7)	100.0 (29)
TOTAL	33.3 (205)	28.9 (178)	37.7 (232)	100.0 (615)	29.7 (173)	36.2 (211)	34.1 (199)	100.0 (583)

TABLE 27.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF PRIOR OCCUPATION BY PROJECT

	INTENSIVES				CONTROLS			
	White	Blue	Unskilled	TOTAL	White	Blue	Unskilled	TOTAL
Atlanta A	54.1	24.6	21.3	100.0	50.8	32.8	16.4	100.0
	(33)	(15)	(13)	(61)	(31)	(20)	(10)	(61)
Chicago A	88.2	7.8	3.9	100.0	87.9	12.1	0.0	100.0
	(45)	(4)	(2)	(51)	(29)	(4)	(0)	(33)
Denver A	57.5	21.9	20.5	100.0	70.3	18.9	10.8	100.0
	(42)	(16)	(15)	(73)	(52)	(14)	(8)	(74)
Seattle A	57.5	27.5	15.0	100.0	55.0	26.2	18.8	100.0
	(46)	(22)	(12)	(80)	(44)	(21)	(15)	(80)
Tampa A	53.4	23.3	23.3	100.0	53.9	25.0	21.1	100.0
	(39)	(17)	(17)	(73)	(41)	(19)	(16)	(76)
Pittsburgh B	61.1	22.2	16.7	100.0	51.8	21.4	26.8	100.0
	(33)	(12)	(9)	(54)	(29)	(12)	(15)	(56)
San Antonio B	55.6	27.0	17.5	100.0	42.9	27.0	30.2	100.0
	(35)	(17)	(11)	(63)	(27)	(17)	(19)	(63)
Springfield B	63.9	26.4	9.7	100.0	53.3	32.0	14.7	100.0
	(46)	(19)	(7)	(72)	(40)	(24)	(11)	(75)
Atlanta C	46.5	39.5	14.0	100.0	56.4	23.1	20.5	100.0
	(20)	(17)	(6)	(43)	(22)	(9)	(8)	(39)
Denver C	76.5	17.6	5.9	100.0	73.3	20.0	6.7	100.0
	(13)	(3)	(1)	(17)	(11)	(3)	(1)	(15)
Seattle C	47.2	22.2	30.6	100.0	51.6	25.8	22.6	100.0
	(17)	(8)	(11)	(36)	(16)	(8)	(7)	(31)
TOTAL	59.2	24.1	16.7	100.0	56.7	25.0	18.2	100.0
	(369)	(150)	(104)	(623)	(342)	(151)	(110)	(603)

TABLE 28.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF JUDGMENT OF HEALTH (AT TIME OF ASSIGNMENT TO *FOR*) BY PROJECT

	INTENSIVES					CONTROLS				
	Unknown	Satis-factory	Remedial Disability	Perm. Disability	TOTAL	Unknown	Satis-factory	Remedial Disability	Perm. Disability	TOTAL
Atlanta A	9.8	70.5	6.6	13.1	100.0	6.6	85.2	3.3	4.9	100.0
	(6)	(43)	(4)	(8)	(61)	(4)	(52)	(2)	(3)	(61)
Chicago A	9.8	49.0	29.4	11.8	100.0	12.1	54.5	21.2	12.1	100.0
	(5)	(25)	(15)	(6)	(51)	(4)	(18)	(7)	(4)	(33)
Denver A	9.6	67.1	15.1	8.2	100.0	6.8	78.4	10.8	4.1	100.0
	(7)	(49)	(11)	(6)	(73)	(5)	(58)	(8)	(3)	(74)
Seattle A	3.8	73.8	11.3	11.3	100.0	8.7	66.2	18.8	6.3	100.0
	(3)	(59)	(9)	(9)	(80)	(7)	(53)	(15)	(5)	(80)
Tampa A	12.3	57.5	19.2	11.0	100.0	5.3	53.9	14.5	26.3	100.0
	(9)	(42)	(14)	(8)	(73)	(4)	(41)	(11)	(20)	(76)
Pittsburgh B	5.6	55.6	31.5	7.4	100.0	8.9	76.8	8.9	5.4	100.0
	(3)	(30)	(17)	(4)	(54)	(5)	(43)	(5)	(3)	(56)
San Antonio B	11.1	58.7	17.5	12.7	100.0	6.3	69.8	11.1	12.7	100.0
	(7)	(37)	(11)	(8)	(63)	(4)	(44)	(7)	(8)	(63)
Springfield B	8.3	72.2	15.3	4.2	100.0	8.0	66.7	18.7	6.7	100.0
	(6)	(52)	(11)	(3)	(72)	(6)	(50)	(14)	(5)	(75)
Atlanta C	2.3	53.5	18.6	25.6	100.0	2.6	79.5	12.8	5.1	100.0
	(1)	(23)	(8)	(11)	(43)	(1)	(31)	(5)	(2)	(39)
Denver C	0.0	70.6	29.4	0.0	100.0	6.7	80.0	0.0	13.3	100.0
	(0)	(12)	(5)	(0)	(17)	(1)	(12)	(0)	(2)	(15)
Seattle C	2.8	58.3	2.8	36.1	100.0	6.5	77.4	6.5	9.7	100.0
	(1)	(21)	(1)	(13)	(36)	(2)	(24)	(2)	(3)	(31)
TOTAL	7.7	63.1	17.0	12.2	100.0	7.1	70.6	12.6	9.6	100.0
	(48)	(393)	(106)	(76)	(623)	(43)	(426)	(76)	(58)	(603)

TABLE 29.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF USE OF ALCOHOL BY PROJECT

	INTENSIVES				CONTROLS			
	Unknown	Some	Problem	TOTAL	Unknown	Some	Problem	TOTAL
Atlanta A	21.3	57.4	21.3	100.0	31.1	57.4	11.5	100.0
	(13)	(35)	(13)	(61)	(19)	(35)	(7)	(61)
Chicago A	41.2	51.0	7.8	100.0	30.3	66.7	3.0	100.0
	(21)	(26)	(4)	(51)	(10)	(22)	(1)	(33)
Denver A	21.9	65.8	12.3	100.0	28.4	51.4	20.3	100.0
	(16)	(48)	(9)	(73)	(21)	(38)	(15)	(74)
Seattle A	28.7	53.7	17.5	100.0	36.2	45.0	18.8	100.0
	(23)	(43)	(14)	(80)	(29)	(36)	(15)	(80)
Tampa A	35.6	43.8	20.5	100.0	44.7	34.2	21.1	100.0
	(26)	(32)	(15)	(73)	(34)	(26)	(16)	(76)
Pittsburgh B	48.1	46.3	5.6	100.0	51.8	35.7	12.5	100.0
	(26)	(25)	(3)	(54)	(29)	(20)	(7)	(56)
San Antonio B	34.9	54.0	11.1	100.0	27.0	68.3	4.8	100.0
	(22)	(34)	(7)	(63)	(17)	(43)	(3)	(63)
Springfield B	37.5	45.8	16.7	100.0	48.0	36.0	16.0	100.0
	(27)	(33)	(12)	(72)	(36)	(27)	(12)	(75)
Atlanta C	39.5	25.6	34.9	100.0	51.3	23.1	25.6	100.0
	(17)	(11)	(15)	(43)	(20)	(9)	(10)	(39)
Denver C	58.8	29.4	11.8	100.0	80.0	13.3	6.7	100.0
	(10)	(5)	(2)	(17)	(12)	(2)	(1)	(15)
Seattle C	27.8	50.0	22.2	100.0	32.3	41.9	25.8	100.0
	(10)	(18)	(8)	(36)	(10)	(13)	(8)	(31)
TOTAL	33.9	49.8	16.4	100.0	39.3	44.9	15.8	100.0
	(211)	(310)	(102)	(623)	(237)	(271)	(95)	(603)

TABLE 30.–PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF USE OF NARCOTICS BY PROJECT

	INTENSIVES				CONTROLS			
	Unknown	Non-User	User	TOTAL	Unknown	Non-User	User	TOTAL
Atlanta A	6.6	90.2	3.3	100.0	11.5	86.9	1.6	100.0
	(4)	(55)	(2)	(61)	(7)	(53)	(1)	(61)
Chicago A	7.8	66.7	25.5	100.0	27.3	63.6	9.1	100.0
	(4)	(34)	(13)	(51)	(9)	(21)	(3)	(33)
Denver A	11.0	84.9	4.1	100.0	17.6	75.7	6.8	100.0
	(8)	(62)	(3)	(73)	(13)	(56)	(5)	(74)
Seattle A	5.0	90.0	5.0	100.0	18.8	71.2	10.0	100.0
	(4)	(72)	(4)	(80)	(15)	(57)	(8)	(80)
Tampa A	11.0	83.6	5.5	100.0	19.7	78.9	1.3	100.0
	(8)	(61)	(4)	(73)	(15)	(60)	(1)	(76)
Pittsburgh B	9.3	85.2	5.6	100.0	30.4	60.7	8.9	100.0
	(5)	(46)	(3)	(54)	(17)	(34)	(5)	(56)
San Antonio B	7.9	44.4	47.6	100.0	3.2	63.5	33.3	100.0
	(5)	(28)	(30)	(63)	(2)	(40)	(21)	(63)
Springfield B	6.9	86.1	6.9	100.0	14.7	78.7	6.7	100.0
	(5)	(62)	(5)	(72)	(11)	(59)	(5)	(75)
Atlanta C	2.3	97.7	0.0	100.0	20.5	74.4	5.1	100.0
	(1)	(42)	(0)	(43)	(8)	(29)	(2)	(39)
Denver C	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	6.7	86.7	6.7	100.0
	(0)	(17)	(0)	(17)	(1)	(13)	(1)	(15)
Seattle C	0.0	88.9	11.1	100.0	9.7	83.9	6.5	100.0
	(0)	(32)	(4)	(36)	(3)	(26)	(2)	(31)
TOTAL	7.1	82.0	10.9	100.0	16.7	74.3	9.0	100.0
	(44)	(511)	(68)	(623)	(101)	(448)	(54)	(603)

TABLE 31.–POTENTIALS SUBDIVIDED BY ELIGIBILITY AND REASONS FOR INELIGIBILITY

		*INELIGIBLES							
PROJECT	TOTAL POTENTIALS	Sex	Alien	Release	Area	Age	**Unknown And Other	TOTAL ELIGIBLES N	TOTAL ELIGIBLE %
Atlanta A	925	99	1	--------	436	16	1	372	40.2
Chicago A	148	-------	-------	--------	5	4	2	137	92.6
Denver A	560	42	4	--------	57	21	51	385	68.8
Seattle A	676	45	27	1	113	27	118	348	51.5
Tampa A	449	42	------	--------	159	13	5	246	54.8
Pittsburgh B	715	51	------	--------	310	37	8	309	43.2
San Antonio B	617	70	2	2	267	9	6	261	42.3
Springfield B	541	45	------	--------	166	22	9	300	55.5
Atlanta C	3,125	1	11	1,707	1,238	56	1	111	3.6
Denver C	667	-------	2	--------	584	2	19	60	9.0
Seattle C	1,572	67	78	952	1,327	65	120	125	8.0
TOTAL N*	9,995	462	125	2,662	4,662	272	340	2,654	-------
TOTAL %*	100.0	62.0	17.0	36.2	63.5	37.0	46.0	---------	26.6

*Numbers and percentages sum to more than total due to multiple reasons for ineligibility in some projects.

**Other includes: already on prior list, military service, never released, conviction set aside. (The last four categories include only one or two cases each.)

TABLE 32.–PROBATION AND PAROLE OFFICERS' JUDGMENTS OF CLIENT BENEFIT OVER TIME (Project by Project Comparisons)

PROJECT	TOTAL % CASES JUDGED				EARLY* % CASES JUDGED				MIDDLE* % CASES JUDGED				LATE* % CASES JUDGED			
	Benefit	Indeterminate	Non-Benefit	N	Benefit	Indeterminate	Non-Benefit	N	Benefit	Indeterminate	Non-Benefit	N	Benefit	Indeterminate	Non-Benefit	N
Atlanta A	32.8	39.3	27.9	122	17.1	37.1	45.7	35	38.7	41.3	20.0	75	41.7	33.3	25.0	12
Chicago A	45.2	44.0	10.7	84	50.0	45.0	5.0	20	45.2	45.2	9.5	42	40.9	40.9	18.2	22
Denver A	44.5	41.8	13.7	146	40.5	45.9	13.5	37	43.7	42.5	13.8	87	54.5	31.8	13.6	22
Seattle A	25.6	67.5	6.9	160	34.3	54.3	11.4	35	22.1	70.6	7.4	68	24.6	71.9	3.5	57
Tampa A	38.9	49.0	12.1	149	62.5	37.5	-------	8	35.2	52.3	12.5	88	41.5	45.3	13.2	53
Pittsburgh B	66.4	22.7	10.9	110	56.8	32.4	10.8	37	69.2	20.0	10.8	65	87.5	-------	12.5	8
San Antonio B	69.0	24.6	6.3	126	83.3	16.7	-------	18	67.9	26.2	6.0	84	62.5	25.0	12.5	24
Springfield B	63.9	32.0	4.1	147	77.5	17.5	5.0	40	59.7	34.7	5.6	72	57.1	42.9	-------	35
Atlanta C	15.9	22.0	62.2	82	16.2	20.6	64.7	69	15.4	30.8	53.8	13	-------	-------	-------	0
Denver C	40.6	43.8	15.6	32	43.8	37.5	18.8	16	41.7	58.3	-------	12	25.0	25.0	50.0	4
Seattle C	31.8	40.9	27.3	66	35.1	45.9	18.9	37	15.8	31.6	52.6	19	50.0	40.0	10.0	10
TOTAL %	44.3	40.0	15.6	99.8	41.5	34.1	24.4	100.0	45.9	41.2	12.8	99.9	44.5	44.9	10.5	99.9
TOTAL N	543	489	192	1,224	146	120	86	352	287	258	80	625	110	111	26	247

TABLE 33.–VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION COUNSELORS' JUDGMENTS OF CLIENT BENEFIT OVER TIME (Project by Project Comparison)

PROJECT	TOTAL % CASES JUDGED				EARLY* % CASES JUDGED				MIDDLE* % CASES JUDGED				LATE* % CASES JUDGED			
	Benefit	Indeterminate	Non-Benefit	N	Benefit	Indeterminate	Non-Benefit	N	Benefit	Indeterminate	Non-Benefit	N	Benefit	Indeterminate	Non-Benefit	N
Atlanta A	38.5	27.9	33.6	122	60.0	17.1	22.9	35	29.3	32.0	38.7	75	33.3	33.3	33.3	12
Chicago A	35.7	38.1	26.2	84	35.0	60.0	5.0	20	47.6	26.2	26.2	42	13.6	40.9	45.5	22
Denver A	39.0	43.2	17.8	146	40.5	37.8	21.6	37	39.1	42.5	18.4	87	36.4	54.5	9.1	22
Seattle A	53.8	20.6	25.6	160	62.9	17.1	20.0	35	51.5	19.1	29.4	68	50.9	24.6	24.6	57
Tampa A	54.4	19.5	26.2	149	62.5	25.0	12.5	8	61.4	18.2	20.5	88	41.5	20.8	37.7	53
Pittsburgh B	39.1	36.4	24.5	110	29.7	27.0	43.2	37	46.2	41.5	12.3	65	25.0	37.5	37.5	8
San Antonio B	70.6	19.8	9.5	126	77.8	11.1	11.1	18	69.0	20.2	10.7	84	70.8	25.0	4.2	24
Springfield B	45.6	42.2	12.2	147	60.0	30.0	10.0	40	48.6	43.1	8.3	72	22.9	54.3	22.7	35
Atlanta C	47.6	37.8	14.6	82	50.7	37.7	11.6	69	30.8	38.5	30.8	13	-------	-------	-------	0
Denver C	51.6	38.7	9.7	32	50.0	37.5	12.5	16	54.5	36.4	9.1	12	50.0	50.0	-------	4
Seattle C	47.0	40.9	12.1	66	45.9	35.1	18.9	37	36.8	63.2	-------	19	70.0	20.0	10.0	10
TOTAL %	47.9	31.8	20.3	100.0	50.9	31.0	18.2	100.1	48.8	31.7	19.5	100.0	41.3	33.2	25.5	100.0
TOTAL N	586	389	249	1,224	179	109	64	352	305	198	122	625	102	82	63	247

*Early = Sept. '65 - Feb. '66, Middle = March '66 - Feb. '67, Late = March '67 - Feb. '69.

TABLE 34.–COMPARISON BETWEEN VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION COUNSELORS' AND PROBATION AND PAROLE OFFICERS' JUDGMENTS OF BENEFIT (All Projects)

		VRO			
		B	ID	NB	
PO	S	24.7 302	13.5 165	6.3 77	44.4 544
	ID	18.1 222	13.1 160	8.7 107	39.9 489
	NS	5.1 63	5.2 64	5.3 65	15.7 192
		47.9 587	31.8 389	20.3 249	1225

TABLE 35.–COMPARISON BETWEEN VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION COUNSELORS' AND PROBATION AND PAROLE OFFICERS' JUDGMENTS OF BENEFIT – SEATTLE A

		VRO			
		B	ID	NB	
PO	S	16.9 27	5.6 9	3.1 5	25.6 41
	ID	33.1 53	15.0 24	19.4 31	67.5 108
	NS	3.7 6	0.0 0	3.1 5	6.8 11
		53.7 86	20.6 33	25.6 41	160

TABLE 36.–COMPARISON BETWEEN VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION COUNSELORS' AND PROBATION AND PAROLE OFFICERS' JUDGMENTS OF BENEFIT – DENVER A

		VRO			
		B	ID	NB	
PO	S	17.7 26	22.4 33	4.8 7	44.9 66
	ID	17.7 26	17.7 26	6.1 9	41.5 61
	NS	3.4 5	3.4 5	6.8 10	13.6 20
		38.8 57	43.5 64	17.7 26	147

TABLE 37.–COMPARISON BETWEEN VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION COUNSELORS' AND PROBATION AND PAROLE OFFICERS' JUDGMENTS OF BENEFIT – CHICAGO A

		VRO			
		B	ID	NB	
PO	S	23.8 20	16.7 14	4.8 4	45.3 38
	ID	10.7 9	17.9 15	15.5 13	44.1 37
	NS	1.2 1	3.6 3	6.0 5	10.8 9
		35.7 30	38.2 32	26.3 22	84

TABLE 38.–COMPARISON BETWEEN VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION COUNSELORS' AND PROBATION AND PAROLE OFFICERS' JUDGMENTS OF BENEFIT – ATLANTA A

		VRO			
		B	ID	NB	
PO	S	13.9 17	10.7 13	8.2 10	32.8 40
	ID	16.4 20	10.7 13	12.3 15	39.4 48
	NS	8.2 10	6.6 8	13.1 16	27.9 34
		38.5 47	28.0 34	33.6 41	122

TABLE 39.–COMPARISON BETWEEN VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION COUNSELORS' AND PROBATION AND PAROLE OFFICERS' JUDGMENTS OF BENEFIT – TAMPA A

		VRO			
		B	ID	NB	
PO	S	17.4 26	8.7 13	12.8 19	38.9 58
	ID	30.2 45	9.4 14	9.4 14	49.0 73
	NS	6.7 10	1.3 2	4.0 6	12.0 18
		54.3 81	19.4 29	26.2 39	149

TABLE 40.–COMPARISON BETWEEN VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION COUNSELORS' AND PROBATION AND PAROLE OFFICERS' JUDGMENTS OF BENEFIT – SPRINGFIELD B

		VRO			
		B	ID	NB	
	S	34.0 50	20.4 30	9.5 14	63.9 94
PO	ID	10.2 15	19.0 28	2.7 4	31.9 47
	NS	1.4 2	2.7 4	0.0 0	4.1 6
		45.6 67	42.1 62	12.2 18	147

TABLE 41.–COMPARISON BETWEEN VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION COUNSELORS' AND PROBATION AND PAROLE OFFICERS' JUDGMENTS OF BENEFIT – PITTSBURGH B

		VRO			
		B	ID	NB	
	S	29.1 32	23.6 26	13.6 15	66.3 73
PO	ID	7.3 8	9.1 10	6.4 7	22.8 25
	NS	2.7 3	3.6 4	4.5 5	10.8 12
		39.1 43	36.3 40	24.5 27	110

TABLE 42.–COMPARISON BETWEEN VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION COUNSELORS' AND PROBATION AND PAROLE OFFICERS' JUDGMENTS OF BENEFIT – SAN ANTONIO B

		VRO			
		B	ID	NB	
	S	58.7 74	9.5 12	0.8 1	69.0 87
PO	ID	9.5 12	7.9 10	7.1 9	24.5 31
	NS	2.4 3	2.4 3	1.6 2	6.4 8
		70.6 89	19.8 25	9.5 12	126

TABLE 43.–COMPARISON BETWEEN VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION COUNSELORS' AND PROBATION AND PAROLE OFFICERS' JUDGMENTS OF BENEFIT – ATLANTA C

		VRO			
		B	ID	NB	
	S	11.0 9	4.9 4	0.0 0	15.9 13
PO	ID	15.9 13	6.1 5	0.0 0	22.0 18
	NS	20.7 17	26.8 22	14.6 12	62.1 15
		47.6 39	37.8 31	14.6 12	82

TABLE 44.–COMPARISON BETWEEN VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION COUNSELORS' AND PROBATION AND PAROLE OFFICERS' JUDGMENTS OF BENEFIT – DENVER C

		VRO			
		B	ID	NB	
	S	25.0 8	12.5 4	3.1 1	40.6 13
PO	ID	25.0 8	12.5 4	6.3 2	43.8 14
	NS	3.1 1	12.5 4	0.0 0	15.6 5
		53.1 17	37.5 12	9.4 3	32

TABLE 45.–COMPARISON BETWEEN VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION COUNSELORS' AND PROBATION AND PAROLE OFFICERS' JUDGMENTS OF BENEFIT – SEATTLE C

		VRO			
		B	ID	NB	
	S	19.7 13	10.6 7	1.5 1	31.8 21
PO	ID	19.7 13	16.7 11	4.5 3	40.9 27
	NS	7.6 5	13.6 9	6.1 4	27.3 18
		47.0 31	40.9 27	12.1 8	66

TABLE 46.–COMPARISON BETWEEN VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION COUNSELORS JUDGMENTS OF BENEFIT – EARLY ASSIGNEES (All Projects)

			P/PO			
			B	ID	NB	
VRO	EARLY	S	26.3	16.1	8.2	
			93	57	29	179
		ID	9.9	12.1	8.8	
			35	43	31	109
		NS	5.1	5.6	7.9	
			18	20	28	66
			146	120	88	354

TABLE 47.–COMPARISON BETWEEN VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION COUNSELORS JUDGMENTS OF BENEFIT – MIDDLE ASSIGNEES (All Projects)

			P/PO			
			B	ID	NB	
VRO	MIDDLE	S	25.8	19.4	3.8	
			161	121	24	306
		ID	14.9	12.2	4.5	
			93	76	28	197
		NS	5.3	9.8	4.5	
			33	61	28	122
			287	258	80	625

TABLE 48.–COMPARISON BETWEEN VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION COUNSELORS JUDGMENTS OF BENEFIT – LATE ASSIGNEES (All Projects)

			P/PO			
			B	ID	NB	
VRO	LATE	S	19.4	17.8	4.0	
			48	44	10	102
		ID	14.6	16.6	2.0	
			36	41	5	82
		NS	10.5	10.5	4.5	
			26	26	11	63
			110	111	26	247

TABLE 49.–REGULAR VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION PURCHASED SERVICES FOR REHABILITATED CLIENTS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1965

	MEDICAL SERVICES												TRAINING				MAINTENANCE			
	Surgery				Prostheses				Hospitalization											
State VR Agencies Participating in FOR	TOTAL $	No. of rehab clients	Avg. $ per client	% of rehab clients	TOTAL $	No. of rehab clients	Avg. $ per client	% of rehab clients	TOTAL $	No. of rehab clients	Avg. $ per client	% of rehab clients	TOTAL $	No. of rehab clients	Avg. $ per client	% of rehab clients	TOTAL $	No. of rehab clients	Avg. $ per client	% of rehab clients
Colorado	$ 39,377	263	$150	16.6	$ 41,289	238	$173	15.0	$ 30,399	102	$298	6.4	$ 475,682	807	$589	50.9	$ 396,816	658	$603	41.5
Florida	$ 393,830	2,092	$188	35.9	$ 115,600	953	$121	16.3	$ 289,536	960	$302	16.5	$ 322,126	1,171	$275	20.1	$ 254,500	971	$262	16.6
Georgia	$ 740,993	4,554	$163	63.1	$ 217,654	1,556	$140	21.5	$ 859,341	3,487	$246	48.3	$ 431,531	979	$441	13.6	$ 254,800	1,053	$242	14.6
Illinois	$ 375,359	2,422	$155	41.6	$ 271,396	1,232	$220	21.2	$ 393,090	757	$519	13.0	$ 918,146	1,396	$658	24.0	$ 493,218	1,080	$457	18.6
Penn.	$ 495,719	2,553	$194	20.8	$ 394,411	2,224	$177	18.1	$ 342,453	1,036	$331	8.4	$1,987,781	2,414	$823	19.7	$ 995,019	2,155	$462	17.6
Texas	$ 178,333	875	$204	19.4	$ 187,764	873	$215	19.3	$ 191,206	695	$275	15.4	$ 789,929	2,215	$357	49.2	$ 351,892	1,131	$311	25.1
Wash.	$ 33,065	129	$256	11.0	$ 18,894	153	$123	13.0	$ 28,341	59	$480	5.0	$ 250,346	659	$380	56.0	$ 80,300	435	$185	37.0
TOTAL	$5,158,208	12,888	$175	33.6	$1,518,662	7,229	$173	18.8	$2,134,366	7,096	$301	18.5	$5,175,541	9,641	$537	25.1	$2,571,745	7,483	$278	19.5

TABLE 50.–*FOR* PURCHASED SERVICES RECEIVED BY THE 510 CLIENTS ACCEPTED FOR SERVICE

PROJECTS	DIAGNOSTICS				MEDICAL SERVICES				TRAINING/TOOLS				MAINTENANCE/OTHER				ALL PURCHASED SERVICES			
	TOTAL $	No. of clients	Avg. $ per client	% of accepted clients	TOTAL $	No. of clients	Avg. $ per client	% of accepted clients	TOTAL $	No. of clients	Avg. $ per client	% of accepted clients	TOTAL $	No. of clients	Avg. $ per client	% of accepted clients	TOTAL $	No. of clients	Avg. $ per client	% of accepted clients
Colorado																				
Denver A	$ 3,239	37	$ 88	56.9	$ 9,824	32	$307	49.2	$ 23,652	36	$ 657	54.5	$ 35,560	40	$ 889	60.6	$ 72,275	49	$1,475	74.2
Denver C	$ 325	6	$ 54	37.5	$ 1,015	7	$145	43.8	$ 3,690	6	$ 615	37.5	$ 2,710	10	$ 271	62.5	$ 7,740	10	$ 774	62.5
Florida																				
Tampa A	$ 4,625	29	$159	63.0	$ 4,249	7	$607	15.2	$ 22,212	18	$1,234	39.1	$ 14,610	15	$ 974	32.6	$ 45,696	32	$1,428	69.6
Georgia																				
Atlanta A	$ 835	20	$ 42	44.4	$ 1,719	9	$191	20.0	$ 13,414	19	$ 706	42.2	$ 2,658	6	$ 443	13.0	$ 18,626	30	$ 621	66.7
Atlanta C	$ 3,383	22	$154	51.2	$16,740	18	$930	41.9	$ 11,592	14	$ 828	32.6	$ 17,143	31	$ 553	72.1	$ 48,858	34	$1,437	79.1
Illinois																				
Chicago A	$ 736	21	$ 35	53.8	$ 1,533	7	$219	17.9	$ 7,865	11	$ 715	28.2	$ 6,740	10	$ 674	25.6	$ 16,874	22	$ 767	56.4
Springfield B	$ 1,120	31	$ 36	67.4	$ 1,211	7	$173	15.2	$ 8,370	15	$ 558	32.6	$ 8,967	21	$ 427	45.7	$ 19,668	33	$ 596	71.7
Pennsylvania																				
Pittsburgh B	$ 3,758	39	$ 96	75.0	$ 5,586	21	$266	40.4	$ 18,504	18	$1,028	34.6	$ 7,740	18	$ 430	34.6	$ 35,588	41	$ 868	78.8
Texas																				
San Antonio B	$ 1,556	44	$ 35	72.1	$ 994	14	$ 71	23.0	$ 5,610	34	$ 165	55.7	$ 8,415	33	$ 255	54.1	$ 16,575	51	$ 325	83.6
Washington																				
Seattle A	$ 3,612	22	$164	34.9	$ 6,324	12	$527	19.0	$ 10,527	29	$ 363	46.0	$ 75,316	38	$1,982	60.3	$ 95,729	40	$2,395	63.5
Seattle C	$ 1,593	19	$ 84	55.9	$ 1,791	9	$199	26.5	$ 13,992	22	$ 636	64.7	$ 47,264	32	$1,477	94.1	$ 64,640	32	$2,020	94.1
TOTAL	$25,185	290	$ 87	56.9	$50,765	143	$355	28.0	$139,416	222	$ 628	43.5	$227,076	254	$ 894	49.8	$442,442	374	$1,183	73.3

TABLE 51.–DEGREES OF *FOR* SERVICE PERCENTAGE AND NUMBER OF ACCEPTED CLIENTS RECEIVING SERVICE

PROJECTS	NO PURCHASED SERVICE COUNSELING ONLY		ONE PURCHASED SERVICE			TWO PURCHASED SERVICE			THREE PURCHASED SERVICES	TOTAL NO. OF CLIENTS ACCEPTED FOR SERVICE
	≤5 hrs.	>5 hrs.	Medical	Maintenance	Training/Tools	Medical & Maintenance	Medical & Training/Tools	Maintenance & Training/Tools	Medical Maintenance & Training/Tools	
Atlanta A	36.6 16	11.1 5	4.4 2	2.2 1	28.9 13	2.2 1	8.9 4	2.2 1	4.4 2	45
Chicago A	33.3 13	30.8 12	7.7 3	0.0 0	2.6 1	0.0 0	0.0 0	15.4 6	10.3 4	39
Denver A	23.1 15	7.7 5	1.5 1	3.1 2	4.6 3	9.2 6	0.0 0	9.2 6	41.5 27	65
Seattle A	33.3 21	4.8 3	0.0 0	12.7 8	0.0 0	3.2 2	0.0 0	28.6 18	17.5 11	63
Tampa A	21.7 10	32.6 15	2.2 1	2.2 1	6.5 3	2.2 1	4.3 2	21.7 10	6.5 3	46
Pittsburgh B	11.5 7	26.2 16	11.5 7	3.3 2	4.9 3	3.3 2	3.3 2	6.6 4	14.8 9	52
San Antonio B	4.9 3	24.6 15	3.3 2	9.8 6	8.2 5	1.6 1	4.9 3	31.1 19	11.5 7	61
Springfield B	28.3 13	10.9 5	6.5 3	19.6 9	8.7 4	4.3 2	0.0 0	19.6 9	2.2 1	46
Atlanta C	14.0 6	7.0 3	0.0 0	25.6 11	0.0 0	20.9 9	4.7 2	9.3 4	18.6 8	43
Denver C	25.0 4	6.3 1	0.0 0	6.3 1	0.0 0	18.8 3	0.0 0	12.5 2	31.3 5	16
Seattle C	2.9 1	2.9 1	0.0 0	29.4 10	0.0 0	2.9 1	0.0 0	38.2 13	23.5 8	34
TOTALS	21.0 109	16.0 81	3.8 19	10.0 51	6.3 32	5.5 28	2.5 13	18.0 92	16.7 85	510

TABLE 52.—AVERAGE HOURS SPENT COUNSELING *FOR* CLIENTS AND THE AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONAL CONTACTS INVOLVED

PROJECTS	COUNSELING HOURS		PERSONAL CONTACTS	
	Avg. Hrs.	No. of Clients	Contacts	No. of Clients
Atlanta A	6.4	44	5.8	44
Chicago A	12.8	39	10.0	35
Denver A	17.7	64	21.8	56
Seattle A	24.2	63	23.9	50
Tampa A	15.7	43	11.4	39
Pittsburgh B	14.5	50	16.0	49
San Antonio B	23.9	61	24.4	60
Springfield B	11.2	46	8.4	46
Atlanta C	27.7	13	23.9	43
Denver C	20.1	15	17.4	14
Seattle C	31.3	23	21.6	33
GRAND TOTAL	18.6	501	17.2	469

TABLE 53.—AVERAGE LENGTH OF *FOR* CASE SERVICE

PROJECTS	WEEKS FROM ASSIGNMENT TO CLOSURE		WEEKS OF ACTIVE CASE SERVICE*	
	Weeks	No. of Clients	Weeks	No. of Clients
Atlanta A	110	45	81	41
Chicago A	114	36	73	36
Denver A	77	63	67	60
Seattle A	91	63	72	54
Tampa A	92	45	76	38
Pittsburgh B	125	50	121	48
San Antonio B	85	60	79	61
Springfield B	102	46	83	44
Atlanta C	118	43	93	43
Denver C	95	15	77	14
Seattle C	104	34	82	33
GRAND TOTAL	100	500	82	472

*Does not include time spent trying to locate a potential client or weeks of inactive follow-up.

TABLE 54.–PERCENTAGE OF ADEQUATE SOCIAL PERFORMERS RATED BENEFIT OR IMPROVED AT TIME OF CLOSURE (Project by Project Comparison)

PROJECTS	Benefited VR Services	Expect No Legal Problems	Handles Stress Well	Makes Good Use of Abilities	No Problems with Alcohol	Satisfied with Status	Makes Sufficient Income	Can Expect Job Advancement	Benefit Other Services	Can Afford Luxuries	Participating Community Activities	Benefited Vocational Training	TOTAL
Atlanta A	100.0	95.7	100.0	91.3	87.0	82.6	82.6	82.6	34.8	82.6	52.2	30.4	
	23	22	23	21	20	19	19	19	8	19	12	7	23
Chicago A	100.0	94.7	84.2	73.7	94.7	36.8	42.1	26.3	68.4	26.3	15.8	42.1	
	19	18	16	14	18	7	8	5	13	5	3	8	19
Denver A	90.9	90.9	57.6	63.6	51.5	69.7	54.5	75.8	27.3	21.2	42.4	57.6	
	30	30	19	21	17	23	18	25	9	7	14	19	33
Seattle A	96.0	96.0	96.0	88.0	88.0	96.0	84.0	88.0	68.0	60.0	84.0	52.0	
	24	24	24	22	22	24	21	22	17	15	21	13	25
Tampa A	93.3	100.0	86.7	93.3	86.7	86.7	86.7	66.7	66.7	46.7	20.0	53.3	
	14	15	13	14	13	13	13	10	10	7	3	8	15
Pittsburgh B	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	97.5	80.0	87.5	97.5	82.5	45.0	
	40	40	40	40	40	40	39	32	35	39	33	18	40
San Antonio B	100.0	100.0	100.0	97.1	94.1	94.1	100.0	97.1	100.0	41.2	79.4	58.8	
	34	34	34	33	32	32	34	33	34	14	27	20	34
Springfield B	100.0	95.7	95.7	87.0	95.7	91.3	87.0	73.9	43.5	69.6	73.9	60.9	
	23	22	22	20	22	21	20	17	10	16	17	14	23
Atlanta C	100.0	100.0	100.0	90.9	100.0	86.4	90.9	72.7	77.3	90.9	27.3	31.8	
	22	22	22	20	22	19	20	16	17	20	6	7	22
Denver C	100.0	75.0	25.0	100.0	25.0	75.0	75.0	100.0	50.0	50.0	00.0	100.0	
	4	3	1	4	1	3	3	4	2	2	0	4	4
Seattle C	100.0	100.0	90.5	100.0	90.5	100.0	90.5	100.0	57.1	76.2	23.8	52.4	
	21	21	19	21	19	21	19	21	12	16	5	11	21
TOTAL	98.1	96.9	90.0	88.8	87.3	85.7	82.6	78.8	64.5	61.8	54.4	49.8	
	254	251	233	230	226	222	214	204	167	160	141	129	259

TABLE 55.–REASONS FOR NON-COOPERATIVE CLOSURE (Project by Project Comparison)

PROJECT	Jail	Client Thinks He Doesn't Need	Client Won't Accept on Couns. Terms	Client Won't Accept on Any Terms	Other	Unknown	TOTAL
Atlanta A	31.6	21.1	0.0	10.5	26.3	10.5	100.0
	6	4	0	2	5	2	19
Chicago A	16.7	38.9	11.1	16.7	16.7	0.0	100.0
	3	7	2	3	3	0	18
Denver A	13.0	4.3	30.4	17.4	21.7	13.0	100.0
	3	1	7	4	5	3	23
Seattle A	28.9	39.5	5.3	7.9	10.5	7.9	100.0
	11	15	2	3	4	3	38
Tampa A	22.2	25.9	11.1	7.4	11.1	22.2	100.0
	6	7	3	2	3	6	27
Pittsburgh B	20.0	0.0	30.0	10.0	40.0	0.0	100.0
	2	0	3	1	4	0	10
San Antonio B	70.4	3.7	7.4	3.7	14.8	0.0	100.0
	19	1	2	1	4	0	27
Springfield B	23.8	14.3	42.9	14.3	4.8	0.0	100.0
	5	3	9	3	1	0	21
Atlanta C	28.6	0.0	0.0	9.5	14.3	47.6	100.0
	6	0	0	2	3	10	21
Denver C	40.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	30.0	30.0	100.0
	4	0	0	0	3	3	10
Seattle C	38.5	0.0	23.1	7.7	7.7	23.1	100.0
	5	0	3	1	1	3	13
TOTAL	30.8	16.7	13.7	9.7	15.9	13.2	100.0
	70	38	31	22	36	30	227

TABLE 56.–PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ASSIGNEES ACCEPTED FOR SERVICE – OVERTIME (Project by Project Comparison)

PROJECT	PERCENTAGE ACCEPTED FOR SERVICE				TOTAL ASSIGNEES
	Time of Assignment			TOTAL	
	Early	Middle	Late		(N)
Atlanta A	77.8	75.8	60.0	73.8	
	14	25	6	45	61
Chicago A	73.3	81.8	71.4	76.5	
	11	18	510	39	51
Denver A	91.3	91.4	78.6	88.9	
	21	32	11	64	72
Seattle A	95.6	80.0	64.3	78.8	
	21	24	18	63	80
Tampa A	75.0	66.0	54.6	63.0	
	3	31	12	46	73
Pittsburgh B	94.7	96.6	100.0	96.3	
	18	28	6	52	54
San Antonio B	90.9	97.6	100.0	96.8	
	10	40	11	61	63
Springfield B	78.2	73.1	39.1	63.9	
	18	19	9	46	72
Atlanta C	100.0	100.0	–n.a.–	100.0	
	37	5		42	42
Denver C	88.9	100.0	100.0	94.1	
	8	6	2	16	17
Seattle C	95.0	100.0	85.7	94.4	
	19	9	6	34	36
TOTAL	89.6	83.7	66.4	81.8	
	180	237	91	508	621

n.a. = no cases assigned.

TABLE 57.–PERCENTAGE OF CLIENTS REHABILITATED OF THOSE ACCEPTED FOR SERVICE – OVERTIME
(Project by Project Comparison)

PROJECT	PERCENTAGE REHABILITATED				TOTAL ACCEPTED SERVICE
	Time of Assignment			TOTAL	
	Early	Middle	Late		(N)
Atlanta A	35.7	60.0	50.0	51.1	45
	5	15	3	23	
Chicago A	54.5	61.1	30.0	51.3	39
	6	11	3	20	
Denver A	38.1	59.4	63.6	54.0	65
	8	19	7	34	
Seattle A	33.3	41.7	38.9	38.1	63
	7	10	7	24	
Tampa A	0.0	38.7	33.3	34.8	46
	0	12	4	16	
Pittsburgh B	77.8	78.6	66.7	76.9	52
	14	22	4	40	
San Antonio B	50.0	50.0	81.8	55.7	61
	5	20	9	34	
Springfield B	61.1	47.4	33.3	50.0	46
	11	9	3	23	
Atlanta C	54.1	40.0	–n.a.–	52.4	42
	20	2		22	
Denver C	62.5	0.0	50.0	37.5	16
	5	0	1	6	
Seattle C	63.2	44.4	83.3	61.8	34
	12	4	5	21	
TOTAL	51.7	52.3	50.5	51.8	510
	93	124	46	263	

n.a. = no cases assigned.

TABLE 58.–COMPARISON OF LEGAL STATUS WITH REASONS FOR CLOSURE

	Lost	Not Contacted	No Need	Non-Cooperative	Adequate Social Performance	TOTAL
Probationers	26.3	33.3	67.2	32.7	39.8	38.7
	5	12	39	80	105	241
Releasees	5.3	2.8	1.7	17.1	18.9	15.3
	1	1	1	42	50	95
Parolees	21.1	38.9	24.1	28.6	26.5	27.7
	4	14	14	70	70	172
Mandatory Releasees	47.4	25.0	6.9	21.6	14.8	18.3
	9	9	4	53	39	114
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	19	36	58	245	264	622

TABLE 59.–COMPARISON OF YEARS OF EDUCATION WITH REASONS FOR CLOSURE

	Lost	Not Contacted	No Need	Non-Cooperative	Adequate Social Performance	TOTAL
Through 8th Grade	47.4	36.4	18.5	40.9	26.1	32.5
	9	12	10	99	68	198
9th – 11th Grade	31.6	42.4	35.2	36.8	46.4	40.9
	6	14	19	89	121	249
Over 12th Grade	21.1	21.2	46.3	22.3	27.6	26.6
	4	7	25	54	72	162
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	19	33	54	242	261	609

TABLE 60.–COMPARISON OF VRO/PPO JUDGMENTS WITH REASONS FOR CLOSURE

	Lost	Not Contacted	No Need	Non-Cooperative	Adequate Social Performance	TOTAL
Benefit/	10.5	16.7	21.3	18.0	34.0	24.8
Success	2	6	13	44	89	154
Benefit/	0.0	19.4	16.4	19.3	17.9	17.8
Indeterminant	0	7	10	47	47	111
Benefit/	0.0	2.8	0.0	4.5	7.3	5.0
Non-Success	0	1	0	11	19	31
Indeterminant/	5.3	8.3	20.7	9.4	14.0	12.2
Success	1	3	12	23	37	76
Indeterminant/	21.1	22.2	15.5	16.8	8.7	13.7
Indeterminant	4	8	9	41	23	85
Indeterminant/	5.3	8.3	1.6	9.0	4.6	6.3
Non-Success	1	3	1	22	12	39
Non-Benefit/	5.3	2.8	16.4	3.7	6.1	5.9
Success	1	1	10	9	16	37
Non-Benefit/	36.8	8.3	4.9	11.1	5.7	8.8
Indeterminant	7	3	3	27	15	55
Non-Benefit/	15.8	11.1	0.0	8.6	2.3	5.5
Non-Success	3	4	0	21	6	34
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	19	36	58	245	264	622

TABLE 61.–COMPARISON OF NON-COOPERATIVE CLOSURE REASONS WITH COST OF PURCHASED SERVICE

$	Jail	Client Thinks He Doesn't Need Service	Client Won't Accept on Counselor's Terms	Client Won't Accept on Any Terms	Other	Unknown	TOTAL
None	30.0	81.6	32.3	81.8	50.0	30.0	47.1
	21	31	10	18	18	9	107
$1–99	22.9	5.3	25.8	4.5	22.2	16.7	17.6
	16	2	8	1	8	5	40
$100-799	28.6	7.9	29.0	9.1	16.7	30.0	21.6
	20	3	9	2	6	9	49
$800+	18.6	5.3	12.9	4.5	11.1	23.3	13.7
	13	2	4	1	4	7	31
TOTAL N	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	70	38	31	22	36	30	227

TABLE 62.–COMPARISON OF NON-COOPERATIVE CLOSURE REASONS WITH AMOUNT OF COUNSELING HOURS

Hours	Jail	Client Thinks He Doesn't Need Service	Client Won't Accept on Counselor's Terms	Client Won't Accept on Any Terms	Other	Unknown	TOTAL
≤5	18.6 13	76.3 29	22.6 7	68.2 15	33.3 12	30.0 9	37.4 85
5–19	44.3 31	21.1 8	54.8 17	22.7 5	47.2 17	36.7 11	39.2 89
20+	37.1 26	2.6 1	22.6 7	9.1 2	19.4 7	33.3 10	23.3 53
TOTAL	100.0 70	100.0 38	100.0 31	100.0 22	100.0 36	100.0 30	100.0 227

TABLE 63.–COMPARISON OF REASONS FOR CLOSURE WITH PERCENTAGE RECEIVING SERVICES

CLOSURE	TOTAL	Percentage Receiving: Diagnostic Services	Percentage Receiving: Medical, Maintenance, and/or Training/Tools	Percentage Receiving Diag. (No Purchased Serv.)	Percentage Receiving Purchased Serv. (No Diag.)
Non-Cooperative	245	36.7 90	40.4 99	33.3 30	39.4 39
Adequate Social Performance	265	76.6 203	83.4 221	11.8 24	19.0 42
TOTAL (accepted for service)	510	57.4 293	62.7 320	18.4 54	25.3 81

TABLE 64.–AVERAGE HOURS SPENT COUNSELING *FOR* CLIENTS AND THE NUMBER OF PERSONAL CONTACTS PER CLIENT ACCEPTED FOR SERVICE BY CLOSURE REASON (Project by Project Comparison)

PROJECTS	COUNSELING HOURS				PERSONAL CONTACTS			
	Not Rehabilitated		Rehabilitated		Not Rehabilitated		Rehabilitated	
	Avg. Hrs.	No. of Clients	Avg. Hrs.	No. of Clients	Avg. Hrs.	No. of Clients	Avg. Hrs.	No. of Clients
Atlanta A	5.7	22	7.0	22	5.3	21	6.3	23
Chicago A	4.7	19	20.6	20	5.1	15	13.7	20
Denver A	11.2	29	23.1	35	14.6	21	26.1	35
Seattle A	13.4	39	41.9	24	17.0	26	31.5	24
Tampa A	14.5	27	17.9	16	9.6	24	14.2	15
Pittsburgh B	10.3	12	15.8	38	12.2	9	16.9	40
San Antonio B	26.7	27	21.6	34	29.1	26	20.9	34
Springfield B	4.6	23	17.8	23	5.2	23	11.6	23
Atlanta C	18.1	21	36.1	22	15.6	21	31.8	22
Denver C	14.1	10	32.2	5	16.7	10	19.0	4
Seattle C	21.8	12	36.8	21	16.2	12	24.7	21
TOTAL	13.2	241	23.7	260	13.7	208	20.1	261

TABLE 65.–AVERAGE LENGTH OF *FOR* CASE SERVICE FOR CLIENTS ACCEPTED FOR SERVICE (Project by Project Comparison)

PROJECTS	WEEKS FROM ASSIGNMENT TO CLOSURE				WEEKS OF ACTUAL CASE SERVICE			
	Not Rehabilitated		Rehabilitated		Not Rehabilitated		Rehabilitated	
	No. of Weeks	No. of Clients	No. of Weeks	No. of Clients	No. of Weeks	No. of Clients	No. of Weeks	No. of Clients
Atlanta A	115	22	106	23	85	18	78	23
Chicago A	101	19	128	17	49	19	99	17
Denver A	62	29	91	34	47	25	82	35
Seattle A	77	39	112	24	56	30	91	24
Tampa A	92	29	94	16	74	25	81	13
Pittsburgh B	104	11	131	39	95	10	128	38
San Antonio B	79	27	90	33	73	27	84	34
Springfield B	101	23	103	23	75	21	90	23
Atlanta C	121	21	114	22	108	21	79	22
Denver C	90	10	105	5	61	9	99	5
Seattle C	101	13	106	21	73	13	88	20
TOTAL	92	243	107	257	71	218	92	254

TABLE 66.–RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SERVICE TYPE AND REHABILITATION (Project by Project Comparison)

PERCENTAGE OF THOSE RECEIVING SERVICE WHO WERE REHABILITATED

PROJECT	Any Purchased Service	Medical	Maintenance/ Other	Training/Tools	Training	Rehabilitated Cases Accepted for Service
Atlanta A	66.7	88.9	50.0	78.9	100.0	51.1
Chicago A	86.4	100.0	100.0	90.9	90.0	51.3
Denver A	63.3	65.6	67.5	72.2	73.5	53.8
Seattle A	55.0	66.7	55.3	65.5	70.4	38.1
Tampa A	46.9	57.1	53.3	66.7	57.1	34.8
Pittsburgh B	80.5	90.5	83.3	94.4	100.0	76.9
San Antonio B	64.7	64.3	63.6	58.8	57.6	55.7
Springfield B	69.7	100.0	71.4	86.7	85.7	50.0
Atlanta C	64.7	77.8	66.7	71.4	100.0	52.4
Denver C	50.0	57.1	50.0	83.3	75.0	37.5
Seattle C	62.5	66.7	62.5	68.2	65.0	61.8
TOTAL	65.0	74.8	65.0	73.0	73.5	51.8

TABLE 67.–RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMBINATION OF SERVICES AND REHABILITATION (Project by Project Comparison)

PERCENTAGE CLOSED REHABILITATED

PROJECT	Accepted for Service	Any Purchased Service	Maintenance*	Maintenance,* Training and/or Tools	Medical, Maintenance* Training and/or Tools
Atlanta A	51.1	66.7	50.0	0.0	50.0
Chicago A	51.3	86.4	100.0	100.0	100.0
Denver A	53.8	63.3	67.5	66.7	74.1
Seattle A	38.1	55.0	55.3	61.1	72.7
Tampa A	34.8	46.9	53.3	60.0	33.3
Pittsburgh B	76.9	80.5	83.3	75.0	100.0
San Antonio B	55.7	64.7	63.6	47.4	85.7
Springfield B	50.0	69.7	71.4	77.8	100.0
Atlanta C	52.4	64.7	66.7	50.0	75.0
Denver C	37.5	50.0	50.0	50.0	100.0
Seattle C	61.8	62.5	62.5	69.2	62.5
TOTAL	51.8	65.0	65.0	63.0	77.6

*includes other expenditures.

TABLE 68.–EMPLOYMENT RATE – PERCENTAGE OF KNOWN TIME IN THE COMMUNITY EMPLOYED
(Project by Project Comparison) – Continued

	No Known Time			Unemployed All Known Time			1–49%		
PROJECTS	Intensives	Controls	TOTAL	Intensives	Controls	TOTAL	Intensives	Controls	TOTAL
Atlanta A	6.6	16.4	11.5	3.3	0.0	1.6	11.5	1.6	6.6
	4	10	14	2	0	2	7	1	8
Chicago A	19.6	6.1	14.3	19.6	15.2	17.9	13.7	12.1	13.1
	10	2	12	10	5	15	7	4	11
Denver A	6.8	10.8	8.8	2.7	2.7	2.7	13.7	8.1	10.9
	5	8	13	2	2	4	10	6	16
Seattle A	1.3	1.3	1.3	7.5	3.3	5.6	17.5	12.5	15.0
	1	1	2	6	3	9	14	10	24
Tampa A	2.7	1.3	2.0	5.5	2.6	4.0	1.4	5.3	3.4
	2	1	3	4	2	6	1	4	5
Pittsburgh B	0.0	8.9	4.5	7.4	7.1	7.3	11.1	8.9	10.0
	0	5	5	4	4	8	6	5	11
San Antonio B	1.6	7.9	4.8	3.2	4.8	4.0	14.3	7.9	11.1
	1	5	6	2	3	5	9	5	14
Springfield B	11.1	16.2	13.7	4.2	1.4	2.7	9.7	6.8	8.2
	8	12	20	3	1	4	7	5	12
Atlanta C	7.0	34.2	19.8	7.0	18.4	12.3	14.0	10.5	12.3
	3	13	16	3	7	10	6	4	10
Denver C	11.8	26.7	18.8	11.8	13.3	12.5	5.9	13.3	9.4
	2	4	6	2	2	4	1	2	3
Seattle C	2.8	25.8	13.4	8.3	12.9	10.4	13.9	3.2	9.0
	1	8	9	3	4	7	5	1	6
TOTAL	5.9	11.5	8.7	6.6	5.5	6.0	11.7	7.8	9.8
	37	69	106	41	33	74	73	47	120

TABLE 68.–EMPLOYMENT RATE – PERCENTAGE OF KNOWN TIME IN THE COMMUNITY EMPLOYED
(Project by Project Comparison)

50–99%			100%			Total N			Mean Time Employed		
Intensives	Control	TOTAL	Intensives	Controls	TOTAL	Intensives	Controls	TOTAL	Intensives	Controls	TOTALS
11.5	13.1	12.3	67.2	68.9	68.0	61	61	122	79.4	79.7	79.5
7	8	15	41	42	83						
21.6	15.2	19.0	25.5	51.5	35.7	51	33	84	45.6	64.9	53.2
11	5	16	13	17	30						
23.3	25.7	24.5	53.4	52.7	53.1	73	74	147	76.0	76.5	76.2
17	19	36	39	39	78						
31.3	31.3	31.3	42.5	51.3	46.9	80	80	160	72.4	79.2	75.8
25	25	50	34	41	75						
23.3	19.7	21.5	67.1	71.1	69.1	73	76	149	85.8	88.9	87.4
17	15	32	49	54	103						
11.1	10.7	10.9	70.4	64.3	67.4	54	56	110	81.5	76.5	79.0
6	6	12	38	36	74						
39.7	25.4	32.5	41.3	54.0	47.6	63	63	126	74.8	74.7	74.8
25	16	41	38	34	60						
23.6	14.9	19.2	51.4	60.8	56.2	72	74	146	73.9	73.7	73.7
17	11	28	37	45	82						
11.6	13.2	12.3	60.5	23.7	43.2	43	38	81	73.4	37.3	56.5
5	5	10	26	9	35						
47.1	40.0	43.8	23.5	6.7	15.6	17	15	32	56.8	42.6	50.2
8	6	14	4	1	5						
33.3	25.8	29.9	41.7	32.3	37.3	36	31	67	70.1	52.4	61.9
12	8	20	15	10	25						
24.1	20.6	22.4	51.7	54.6	53.1	623	601	1,224	73.6	73.0	73.3
150	124	274	322	328	650						

TABLE 69.–PERCENTAGE OF UNKNOWNS ON EMPLOYMENT (Project by Project Comparison)

	NEVER UNKNOWN			1–49%			50–99%			100%			TOTAL NUMBER		
PROJECTS	Intensives	Controls	TOTAL	Intensives	Controls	TOTAL	Intensives	Controls	TOTAL	Intensives	Controls	TOTAL	Intensives	Controls	TOTAL
Atlanta A	64.5	45.2	55.7	16.1	12.9	14.8	11.3	24.2	18.0	6.5	16.1	11.5	100.0	100.0	100.0
	40	28	68	10	8	18	7	15	22	4	10	14	61	61	122
Chicago A	56.9	36.4	48.8	15.7	42.4	26.2	7.8	15.2	10.7	19.6	6.1	14.3	100.0	100.0	100.0
	29	12	41	8	14	22	4	5	9	10	2	12	51	33	84
Denver A	55.6	42.5	49.0	20.8	27.4	24.1	16.7	19.2	17.9	6.9	11.0	9.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	40	31	71	15	20	35	12	14	26	5	8	13	72	73	145
Seattle A	73.8	54.4	64.2	16.3	22.8	19.5	8.8	21.5	15.1	1.3	1.3	1.3	100.0	100.0	100.0
	59	43	102	13	18	31	7	17	24	1	1	2	80	79	159
Tampa A	58.9	61.8	60.4	11.0	15.8	13.4	27.4	21.1	24.2	2.7	1.3	2.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	43	47	90	8	12	20	20	16	36	2	1	3	73	76	149
Pittsburgh B	79.6	60.7	70.0	16.7	17.9	17.3	3.7	12.5	8.2	0.0	8.9	4.5	100.0	100.0	100.0
	43	34	77	9	10	19	2	7	9	0	5	5	54	56	110
San Antonio B	73.0	54.0	63.5	15.9	20.6	18.3	9.5	17.5	13.5	1.6	7.9	4.8	100.0	100.0	100.0
	46	34	80	10	13	23	6	11	17	1	5	6	63	63	126
Springfield B	73.6	58.1	65.8	5.6	12.2	8.9	9.7	13.5	11.6	11.1	16.2	13.7	100.0	100.0	100.0
	53	43	96	4	9	13	7	10	17	8	12	20	72	74	146
Atlanta C	41.9	5.3	24.7	27.9	26.3	27.2	23.3	34.2	28.4	7.0	34.2	19.8	100.0	100.0	100.0
	18	2	20	12	10	22	10	13	23	3	13	16	43	38	81
Denver C	47.1	46.7	46.9	23.5	20.0	21.9	17.6	6.7	12.5	11.8	26.7	18.8	100.0	100.0	100.0
	8	7	15	4	3	7	3	1	4	2	4	6	17	15	32
Seattle C	61.1	35.5	49.3	19.4	12.9	16.4	16.7	25.8	20.9	2.8	25.8	13.4	100.0	100.0	100.0
	22	11	33	7	4	11	6	8	14	1	8	9	36	31	67
TOTAL	64.5	48.7	56.8	16.1	20.2	18.1	13.5	19.5	16.5	5.9	11.5	8.7	100.0	100.0	100.0
	401	292	693	100	121	221	84	117	201	37	69	106	622	599	1221

TABLE 70.–RECIDIVISM RATE – PERCENTAGE OF TIME (WITHIN TWO YEARS) SPENT IN JAIL AND/OR IN PRISON (Project by Project Comparison)

	NEVER INCARCERATED			INCARCERATED					
				1–33% OF THE TIME			34–66% OF THE TIME		
PROJECTS	Intensives	Controls	TOTAL	Intensives	Controls	TOTAL	Intensives	Controls	TOTAL
Atlanta A	80.3	85.2	82.8	3.3	8.2	5.7	13.1	4.9	9.0
	49	52	101	2	5	7	8	3	11
Chicago A	94.1	100.0	96.4	2.0	0.0	1.2	2.0	0.0	1.2
	48	33	81	1	0	1	1	0	1
Denver A	79.2	82.2	80.7	8.3	4.1	6.2	8.3	6.8	7.6
	57	60	117	6	3	9	6	5	11
Seattle A	70.0	75.9	73.0	11.3	7.6	9.4	15.0	11.4	13.2
	56	60	116	9	6	15	12	9	21
Tampa A	84.9	78.9	81.9	4.1	11.8	8.1	5.5	5.3	5.4
	62	60	122	3	9	12	4	4	8
Pittsburgh B	88.9	89.3	89.1	5.6	3.6	4.5	3.7	1.8	2.7
	48	50	98	3	2	5	2	1	3
San Antonio B	66.7	76.2	71.4	12.7	3.2	7.9	14.3	12.7	13.5
	42	48	90	8	2	10	9	8	17
Springfield B	86.1	86.5	86.3	5.6	5.4	5.5	2.8	6.8	4.8
	62	64	126	4	4	8	2	5	7
Atlanta C	60.5	60.5	60.5	16.3	21.1	18.5	11.6	15.8	13.6
	26	23	49	7	8	15	5	6	11
Denver C	58.8	66.7	62.5	17.6	13.3	15.6	11.8	20.0	15.6
	10	10	20	3	2	5	2	3	5
Seattle C	80.6	74.2	77.6	5.6	19.4	11.9	13.9	0.0	7.5
	29	23	52	2	6	8	5	0	5
TOTAL	78.6	80.6	79.6	7.7	7.8	7.8	9.0	7.3	8.2
	489	483	972	48	47	95	56	44	100

TABLE 70.–RECIDIVISM RATE – PERCENTAGE OF TIME (WITHIN TWO YEARS) SPENT IN JAIL AND/OR IN PRISON (Project by Project Comparison)–Continued

67–100% OF THE TIME			TOTAL NUMBER			MEAN TIME INCARCERATED		
Intensives	Controls	TOTAL	Intensives	Controls	TOTAL	Intensives	Controls	TOTAL
3.3 2	1.6 1	2.5 3	61	61	122	9.8	5.7	7.7
2.0 1	0.0 0	1.2 1	51	33	84	2.4	0.0	1.5
4.2 3	6.8 5	5.5 8	72	73	145	8.2	9.1	8.7
3.8 3	5.1 4	4.4 7	80	79	159	11.5	10.2	10.8
5.5 4	3.9 3	4.7 7	73	76	149	8.3	7.0	7.6
1.9 1	5.4 3	3.6 4	54	56	110	4.3	5.3	4.8
6.3 4	7.9 5	7.1 9	63	63	126	15.5	13.5	14.5
5.6 4	1.4 1	3.4 5	72	74	146	6.6	4.7	5.7
11.6 5	2.6 1	7.4 6	43	38	81	17.8	13.7	15.9
11.8 2	0.0 0	6.3 2	17	15	32	19.5	12.5	16.2
0.0 0	6.5 2	3.0 2	36	31	67	8.1	7.1	7.6
4.7 29	4.2 25	4.4 54	622	599	1,221	9.5	8.0	8.7

TABLE 71.–DATE OF FIRST ARREST (Project by Project Comparison)

	NO ARREST		≤ 3 MONTHS		3–6 MONTHS		6–9 MONTHS		9–12 MONTHS	
PROJECTS	**Intensives**	**Controls**	**Intensives**	**Controls**	**Intensives**	**Controls**	**Intensives**	**Controls**	**Intensives**	**Controls**
Atlanta A	68.9	72.1	9.8	6.6	9.8	3.3	4.9	3.3	3.3	4.9
	42	44	6	4	6	2	3	2	2	3
Chicago A	78.4	84.8	5.9	3.0	5.9	3.0	5.9	0.0	2.0	3.0
	40	28	3	1	3	1	3	0	1	1
Denver A	63.9	63.0	8.3	11.0	13.9	6.8	6.9	8.2	2.8	4.1
	46	46	6	8	10	5	5	6	2	3
Seattle A	57.5	64.6	16.3	12.7	6.3	3.8	6.3	11.4	3.8	1.3
	46	51	13	10	5	3	5	9	3	1
Tampa A	68.5	72.4	16.4	14.5	4.1	6.6	2.7	3.9	1.4	1.3
	50	55	12	11	3	5	2	3	1	1
Pittsburgh B	83.3	75.0	5.6	8.9	1.9	3.6	1.9	5.4	3.7	3.6
	45	42	3	5	1	2	1	3	2	2
San Antonio B	47.6	60.3	12.7	14.3	17.5	9.5	6.3	6.3	3.2	1.6
	30	38	8	9	11	6	4	4	2	1
Springfield B	76.4	77.0	2.8	4.1	6.9	8.1	8.3	5.4	2.8	1.4
	55	57	2	3	5	6	6	4	2	1
Atlanta C	46.5	57.9	23.3	15.8	16.3	5.3	2.3	5.3	7.0	7.9
	20	22	10	6	7	2	1	2	3	3
Denver C	47.1	60.0	17.6	26.7	29.4	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.7
	8	9	3	4	5	1	0	0	0	1
Seattle C	77.8	71.0	8.3	0.0	5.6	12.9	0.0	9.7	2.8	0.0
	28	22	3	0	2	4	0	3	1	0
TOTAL	65.9	69.1	11.1	10.2	9.3	6.2	4.8	6.0	3.1	2.8
	410	414	69	61	58	37	30	36	19	17

TABLE 71.–DATE OF FIRST ARREST (Project by Project Comparison)–Continued

PROJECTS	12–15 MONTHS		15–18 MONTHS		18–21 MONTHS		21–24 MONTHS		TOTAL NUMBER	
	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls
Atlanta A	0.0 0	1.6 1	0.0 0	4.9 3	3.3 2	3.3 2	0.0 0	0.0 0	61	61
Chicago A	2.0 1	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	3.0 1	0.0 0	3.0 1	51	33
Denver A	0.0 0	2.7 2	1.4 1	2.7 2	0.0 0	0.0 0	2.8 2	1.4 1	72	73
Seattle A	5.0 4	1.3 1	1.3 1	1.3 1	2.5 2	1.3 1	1.3 1	2.5 2	80	79
Tampa A	6.8 5	1.3 1	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	73	76
Pittsburgh B	0.0 0	0.0 0	1.9 1	0.0 0	1.9 1	1.8 1	0.0 0	1.8 1	54	56
San Antonio B	4.8 3	4.8 3	4.8 3	3.2 2	3.2 2	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	63	63
Springfield B	1.4 1	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	1.4 1	2.7 2	0.0 0	1.4 1	72	74
Atlanta C	2.3 1	5.3 2	2.3 1	2.6 1	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	43	38
Denver C	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	5.9 1	0.0 0	17	15
Seattle C	2.8 1	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	2.8 1	0.0 0	0.0 0	6.5 2	36	31
TOTAL	2.6 16	1.7 10	1.1 7	1.5 9	1.4 9	1.2 7	0.6 4	1.3 8	622	599

TABLE 72.–DATE OF FIRST INCARCERATED ARREST (Project by Project Comparison)

PROJECTS	NO ARREST		≤ 3 MONTHS		3–6 MONTHS		6–9 MONTHS		9–12 MONTHS	
	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls
Atlanta A	80.3	83.6	3.3	3.3	6.6	1.6	3.3	0.0	3.3	4.9
	49	51	2	2	4	1	2	0	2	3
Chicago A	94.1	100.0	0.0	0.0	3.9	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	48	33	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
Denver A	80.6	83.6	1.4	4.1	4.2	2.7	4.2	1.4	2.8	2.7
	58	61	1	3	3	2	3	1	2	2
Seattle A	71.3	64.6	12.5	12.7	2.5	3.8	3.8	11.4	1.3	1.3
	57	51	10	10	2	3	3	9	1	1
Tampa A	86.3	81.6	4.1	6.6	2.7	1.3	4.1	3.9	0.0	1.3
	63	62	3	5	2	1	3	3	0	1
Pittsburgh B	92.6	89.3	3.7	3.6	0.0	5.4	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0
	50	50	2	2	0	3	0	0	1	0
San Antonio B	69.8	76.2	7.9	4.8	7.9	4.8	1.6	3.2	4.8	4.8
	44	48	5	3	5	3	1	2	3	3
Springfield B	84.7	82.4	2.8	1.4	2.8	2.7	2.8	4.1	1.4	1.4
	61	64	2	1	2	2	2	3	1	1
Atlanta C	60.5	57.9	11.6	7.9	14.0	7.9	4.7	7.9	0.0	7.9
	26	22	5	3	6	3	2	3	0	3
Denver C	52.9	66.7	5.9	20.0	29.4	6.7	5.9	6.7	0.0	0.0
	9	10	1	3	5	1	1	1	0	0
Seattle C	80.6	77.4	5.6	0.0	2.8	9.7	2.8	3.2	2.8	0.0
	29	24	2	0	1	3	1	1	1	0
TOTAL	79.4	79.5	5.3	5.3	5.1	3.7	3.0	3.8	1.8	2.3
	494	476	33	32	32	22	19	23	11	14

TABLE 72.–DATE OF FIRST INCARCERATED ARREST (Project by Project Comparison)–Continued

PROJECTS	12–15 MONTHS		15–18 MONTHS		18–21 MONTHS		21–24 MONTHS		TOTAL NUMBER	
	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls
Atlanta A	1.6	3.3	1.6	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0	0.0	61	61
	1	2	1	0	0	2	0	0		
Chicago A	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	51	33
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Denver A	2.8	4.1	0.0	1.4	2.8	0.0	1.4	0.0	72	73
	2	3	0	1	2	0	1	0		
Seattle A	5.0	1.3	2.5	1.3	0.0	1.3	1.3	2.5	80	79
	4	1	2	1	0	1	1	2		
Tampa A	1.4	3.9	1.4	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	73	76
	1	3	1	1	0	0	0	0		
Pittsburgh B	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	1.8	54	56
	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1		
San Antonio B	4.8	4.8	1.6	1.6	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	63	63
	3	3	1	1	0	0	1	0		
Springfield B	1.4	1.4	1.4	0.0	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	72	74
	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1		
Atlanta C	2.3	7.9	2.3	2.6	0.0	0.0	4.7	0.0	43	38
	1	3	1	1	0	0	2	0		
Denver C	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.9	0.0	17	15
	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		
Seattle C	2.8	3.2	0.0	0.0	2.8	0.0	0.0	6.5	36	31
	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	2		
TOTAL	2.2	2.8	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.7	1.1	1.0	622	599
	14	17	7	5	5	4	7	6		

TABLE 73.–NUMBER OF ARRESTS (Project by Project Comparison)

	NONE		ONE		TWO		THREE		FOUR		FIVE	
PROJECTS	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls
Atlanta A	68.9	72.1	14.8	14.8	8.2	9.8	3.3	0.0	0.0	3.3	4.9	0.0
	42	44	9	9	5	6	2	0	0	2	3	0
Chicago A	80.4	84.8	17.6	12.1	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.0
	41	28	9	4	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Denver A	63.9	65.8	23.6	23.3	4.2	9.6	6.9	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	46	48	17	17	3	7	5	1	0	0	0	0
Seattle A	57.5	64.6	20.0	19.0	12.5	8.9	5.0	5.1	5.0	1.3	0.0	1.3
	46	51	16	15	10	7	4	4	4	1	0	1
Tampa A	67.1	73.7	19.2	10.5	9.6	6.6	4.1	3.9	0.0	3.9	0.0	1.3
	49	56	14	8	7	5	3	3	0	3	0	1
Pittsburgh B	85.2	75.0	11.1	17.9	1.9	5.4	0.0	1.8	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
	46	42	6	10	1	3	0	1	1	0	0	0
San Antonio B	47.6	60.3	34.9	28.6	9.5	7.9	4.8	1.6	1.6	1.6	0.0	0.0
	30	38	22	18	6	5	3	1	1	1	0	0
Springfield B	76.4	51.4	18.1	14.9	1.4	2.7	4.2	4.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	55	38	13	11	1	2	3	3	0	0	0	0
Atlanta C	46.5	57.9	30.2	21.1	16.3	13.2	4.7	2.6	0.0	2.6	0.0	0.0
	20	22	13	8	7	5	2	1	0	1	0	0
Denver C	47.1	60.0	29.4	20.0	11.8	6.7	0.0	6.7	11.8	6.7	0.0	0.0
	8	9	5	3	2	1	0	1	2	1	0	0
Seattle C	77.8	71.0	13.9	22.6	5.6	3.2	0.0	3.2	0.0	0.0	2.8	0.0
	28	22	5	7	2	1	0	1	0	0	1	0
TOTAL	66.1	69.8	20.7	18.4	7.2	7.0	3.7	2.5	1.1	1.8	0.6	0.3
	411	418	129	110	45	42	23	15	7	11	4	2

TABLE 73.–NUMBER OF ARRESTS (Project by Project Comparison)–Continued

PROJECTS	SIX		SEVEN		EIGHT		NINE		TEN		TOTAL	
	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls	Intensives	Controls
Atlanta A	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	61	61
Chicago A	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	51	33
Denver A	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	1.4 1	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	72	73
Seattle A	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	80	79
Tampa A	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	73	76
Pittsburgh B	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	54	56
San Antonio B	1.6 1	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	63	63
Springfield B	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	72	74
Atlanta C	0.0 0	0.0 0	2.3 1	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	2.6 1	43	38
Denver C	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	17	15
Seattle C	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	36	31
TOTAL	0.2 1	0.0 0	0.2 1	0.0 0	0.2 1	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.2 1	622	599

APPENDIX G

THE ROLE OF THE OBSERVER IN THE FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

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I. THE PERSONNEL

Program Observer:

Claude C. Pangborn, June 1965-March 1969

Project Observers:

Atlanta, Georgia:	Donald G. Chandler, Ph.D., May 1966-March 1969
Chicago, Illinois:	Walter G. Rest, November 1965-March 1969
Denver, Colorado:	Charles K. Stuart, November 1965-June 1966 Gayle Lackey, July 1966-December 1967 Carl Hansen, December 1967-August 1968
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania:	Donna Romano, March 1966-May 1966 Lester M. Tourk, May 1966-June 1967 Alexander Levy, July 1967-March 1969
San Antonio, Texas:	James Sherman, February 1966-April 1966 Luis Alvarado, May 1966-January 1967 Richard Moreno, February 1967-March 1969
Seattle, Washington:	Claude C. Pangborn, June 1965-May 1966 Joseph T. Kunce, Ph.D., June 1966-March 1967 Leonard M. Shaw, April 1967-March 1969
Springfield, Illinois:	Robert J. Kapture, November 1965-March 1969
Tampa, Florida:	Calvin M. Pinkard, Ph.D., March 1966-March 1969

II. PLANNING THE OBSERVER'S ROLE

The first FOR reference to the work role or function of a research observer was noted during an interview between FOR Program Director Percy B. Bell and Loren A. Helberg (Research Assistant, Division of Research Grants and Demonstrations, VRA) in Mr. Helberg's office in Washington, D. C. on April 21, 1965. Mr. Helberg mentioned the possible use of a "sociological observer" to "check out processes" in FOR. Mr. Bell recalls that the role was not discussed in any detail but the general idea was that in each FOR project there would be assigned on a part-time basis, an individual who would have as his primary task the observation of any and all things connected with FOR with special attention to those "happenings" which occur in any work situation (including research activities) that are not ordinarily or routinely made a matter of record. The notion was expressed that these happenings, especially those dealing with interpersonal relations, might very well provide the research people with information which would help them clarify, analyze and interpret other reportable data and information coming into a central office. Seattle had been selected as the over-all FOR program headquarters where the Research Director would be working. It was planned that the local project staff would perform little, if any, research activities other than the collection of information which was to be sent to the centrally located Research Director. Project staff were trained and experienced professionals in the field of corrections and rehabilitation and not necessarily (or even likely) qualified in research procedures. This observer, it was hoped, would be a qualified professional in one of the behavioral sciences (sociology or psychology), preferably at the Ph.D. level. He was to make independent observations, Mr. Helberg said, of any and all activities of FOR and to provide "feedback" to local staff as well as reporting to the Program Research Director.

Mr. Helberg (now Dr. Loren A. Helberg, School of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota) reported that prior to FOR, there had been much discussion among the research staff of VRA about the function and role of an observer and that the idea was not new with them, but, to his knowledge, this was the first time in any of the VRA research or demonstration projects that the role had been specifically assigned and approved for staffing.

He had not anticipated (nor considered) that there would be any problems or negative feelings generated by having somebody making independent observations and asking questions at the project levels and had not seen the observer in his work as constituting a threat to anybody associated with FOR. Very little thought had been given to specific duties and job responsibilities, hours of work, reporting procedures, supervision, salaries, etc. It was assumed that there would be separate grants for each project and that each grant would include funds for the observer (Diary records note on June 23, 1965, that Mr. Helberg, in a telephone conversation with Mr. Bell, expressed the thought that observers "should be paid." This must have been a misunderstanding for he later expressed his belief that the "observer" and the "consultant" were considered as being in equal professional status and both were to be paid on a regular fee basis out of project funds).

Soon after Mr. Bell returned to Seattle (in another telephone conversation with Mr. Helberg), it was decided that an over-all program observer would be secured (also on a part-time basis) to help coordinate the work of "project observers," and that this person would also serve as the Seattle FOR project observer. He was not to act as a supervisor of project observers but rather as a staff assistant to the program director and research director with no line authority over any FOR personnel. He was to "assist the program director in the development of administrative procedures and in delineating the role of the various personnel involved in the collaborative research and demonstration program. He was to assist observers attached to each regional project in developing uniform observation systems for assessing the impact of program procedures on the client, the project staff and staff of the collaborating agencies." His relationship and function to the program director, the research director and staff was comparable to that between the project observer and the project director and staff.

During the last week of April 1965, Mr. Bell discussed the matter of the observer with the FOR Executive Committee in Seattle, and on April 30, he called Mr. Claude C. Pangborn, Counseling Psychologist at Seattle University, and discussed the FOR project and specifically the work of the observer. After several meetings and telephone conversations, Mr. Pangborn was officially appointed as a combination program/project observer on June 3. It was decided that he would attend all Executive Committee meetings as a participant/observer and that he would work with Mr. Bell and Mr. Robert Kintner (Research Director) on such things as "success criteria," initial classifications, and the FOR handbook or Operations Manual. In addition, Mr. Pangborn was to prepare instructions and memoranda designed to clarify and describe the work of the project observers who were to be screened and selected by the various project directors with the help of local project executive committees.

Very little information about the observer (except as noted above) was available at this time to assist project directors and project executive committees in screening and advising observer applicants. Salary scales offered (and accepted) varied from $4.00 to $15.00 per hour. When applicants indicated an interest (and were met with committee approval), personal vitae were prepared and submitted to Seattle for final approval. This process continued through the summer and fall, but by the time of the Chicago FOR Conference, November 1-5, 1965, only three of eight observers had definitely been placed. Although early planning had recommended using observers with Ph.D. degrees, it was possible to secure only two applicants who met these educational requirements. All observers appointed were at the graduate educational level and three of these completed and received doctorates during their service period in FOR.

In Seattle, Mr. Pangborn continued working with the executive committee, Mr. Bell and Mr. Rodolfo Alvarez (principal architect of the FOR research design) on such things as the FOR Operations Manual and various measuring instruments (psychological tests). Meetings were held with Sociological Consultants, Dr. Clarence S. Schrag and Dr. Herbert L. Costner of the University of

Washington, for the purpose of defining and clarifying the working duties and responsibilities of the FOR observer. From June 27 to June 30, Mr. Bell and Mr. Pangborn attended the annual Western Area U. S. Probation Officers Institute at the Mark Thomas Inn, Monterey, California, and on the return trip met with Dr. Carter and Dean Joseph D. Lohman, School of Criminology, University of California at Berkeley.

Plans were being developed for the initial FOR Conference in Chicago. Continued attention was directed to the function of the observer in an effort to provide a clearer and more detailed description of his duties and responsibilities. It had been decided that the observer role would purposely be left rather loosely structured so that the manner of its growth and development in different projects could be observed. The matter of financing played an important part in determining the function and reporting procedures of the observer. It was recognized that more effective control and direction of the observer's work could be secured if the program headquarters in Seattle were to be responsible for financing the work of the observer. It would be a violation of sound management principles regarding the delegation of authority and responsibility, for example, to insist that a local project screen and select applicants for the position; arrange for working and salary schedules; approve and pay salary scales; accept responsibility for providing services to clients with reports to Seattle, and then deny them any knowledge or control of the work being done at the project level by the observer. Since funds were not available at the national level headquarters to pay for the services of all project observers, the only alternative was to finance their work out of project funds. When the matter of financing was finally settled, the supervisory and control function of management was examined realistically by the Seattle Executive Committee and staff and a compromise plan developed. This plan was to be further explored and developed at the Chicago Conference in November; but, in essence, it consisted of a dual system of supervision and control, whereby program headquarters in Seattle (particularly the office of the research director) would be responsible for providing administration, coordination, supervision and control of the project observer as a research technician, but that other phases of the observer's work, such as personnel selection, salary scale, working hours, executive committee participation, was to be retained at the project level. The important matter of reporting procedures was not decided prior to Chicago. Such things as what should the observer observe and in what manner, it was agreed, was left pretty much up to the observer, but it was decided that the research director and/or the program research observer could request the project observer (with the project director being informed) to make and report upon observations of a special nature. The format for reporting observations was also purposely left open with the provision that a more definite outline might be developed later in the project. This was never developed for the "voluntary" observation reports but was for several special observation reports to be explained later. It was hoped that during the course of the Chicago Conference, a "mutually acceptable reporting plan could be developed including such factors as: Who would read the reports; should the observer provide a copy to the project director prior to sending them to the research director in Seattle; should he send them direct to Seattle with a copy to the project director; should only the research director get a copy; should the observer share some or all of his findings with the executive committee; should the observer decide how he will handle reporting procedures?"

In addition to the reporting procedures, the question of what other services the observer should provide was left rather vague. Research people leaned toward the position that the observer was intended to function as an extension of research; that he was an additional research instrument or tool — the "eyes and ears" of the program research director at the local level. Research staff were concerned about maintaining the "integrity of the research design." Their rationale was that, in a multi-agency, multi-disciplined program with "research" as a primary objective, faced with a new organization, staffed with workers "strange to each other" who, for the most part, were oriented and experienced toward service (not research), there would inevitably be circumstances, incidents, feelings, attitudes, and practices that would occur and develop which might well interfere with and/or contaminate research results. If the observer's work function and philosophy could be directed solely (or as close as possible) to objective-unbiased perceptive and sensitive observations and reporting, the possibility of reducing "research design contamination" to a minimum would be enhanced. This policy (if carried out completely) would mean that the observer would have complete freedom of choice in deciding what he would observe; he would report only to the program research director and would not share the results of his observations either orally or in written form with anybody except the research director; he should not make any suggestions, recommendations, counsel with or give advice to any FOR personnel (except the research director). He would be free to observe and talk with any FOR clients, instructors, work supervisors, etc., but again was not to counsel, advise, instruct or recommend. To get so involved in services to clients and in staff relationships would tend, it was believed, to reduce objectivity and impartiality in observations and reporting.

Another factor to be considered was the possibility that if the observer were to function only and strictly as an "extension of research" his ability to establish favorable working relationships to local staff might be seriously affected. Might not the VR counselor, the probation/parole office staff and especially, the project director see him as a threat — a snooper, an inspector, an interloper — who demonstrates no personal concern or involvement in the success or failure of the project, who makes unknown reports to a "higher authority" and who shares none of the local problems or responsibilities? If this feeling and attitude were to develop (as well it might), would it not follow that the observer would be seen and treated as an outsider and, thus, be unable to gain the cooperation, trust and goodwill so necessary for him to perform effectively as an observer?

These matters were not definitely resolved prior to the first annual FOR Conference. In August, the initial grant request was prepared and forwarded through channels to Washington, D. C. for consideration. Very brief position descriptions were made of program staff, but included that of the observer which follows:

> "The Program Observer will provide an independent source of information and observation to assist the Program Director in the development of administrative procedures in delineating the roles of the various personnel involved in the collaborative research and demonstration program. He will assist observers attached to each regional project in developing uniform observation systems for assessing the impact of program procedures on the client, the project staff, and staff of the collaborating agencies. In his absence, the Program Director may delegate administrative authority to the observer."

As a result of numerous group and individual meetings, discussions and reading of professional literature, the program observer prepared and distributed on September 24, 1965, a two-page description entitled, "The Role of the Observer in the Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program." This instruction follows: "It has long been recognized that when people are brought together for the purpose of carrying out planned objectives in an organized fashion, many changes which were not planned are almost certain to occur. Work roles change. Individual and group functions and responsibilities are invented, altered, developed, secured, and may even be eliminated in a manner not in accord with the initial plans and policies. This dynamic process may have the efect of promoting or hindering the accomplishment of the planned goals and objectives and it may add new goals or substantially change the original ones.

"In any event this phenomenon is known to also occur in research programs such as the Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program. It is the desire of the Planning Committee that a special effort be made to identify and observe these developments throughout the program. As changes in roles, relationships, attitudes and behavior develop, there may be a substantial effect upon accomplishing the planned objectives. These occurrences should be made a part of the Project record so that their implications for policies and procedures may be examined. The observer will carry out a function which will provide for a more-or-less organized, systematic observation and assessment of the above phenomena. No attempt will be made to describe precisely and completely a full set of work duties and responsibilities for this role. It, too, is subject to changes and development depending upon individual circumstances and personal characteristics. Perhaps by focusing attention on the philosophy and principles basic to the role, individual applications and practices can be selected and developed in the various projects.

"It is intended that the observer (under the general supervision of the program and project director) should make independent, casual, and studied observations of what is happening within the program at all levels. What changes are occurring in work roles, in individual concepts of functions, duties and responsibilities, and in relationships and understandings between personnel at all levels? What effects, if any, is this having upon the intermediate and long-range goals of the Project? The Program? How does the public offender view the program and its effect upon him? How do committees function in accomplishing goals? What is happening in regards to collaboration and cooperation between the sponsoring agencies? What suggestions and recommendations for improvement and development are being made by various personnel including the clients (offenders)?

"The freedom of movement and action necessary to perform efectively the function of the observer also provides a source of friction and threat, and hence the manner in which the observer functions needs careful, continual attention. Care must be taken to avoid the undesirable role of idle snooper, tattle-tale, and gossip. The observer insofar as possible should be alert and sensitive to his own feelings of bias and prejudice. His observations and assessments should be as objective as possible. He should be a skillful and experienced interviewer and able to elicit and assess feelings and attitudes on the part of offenders and Project personnel. He should anticipate that as the program develops work roles change, self-concepts are altered, vested interests are established and problems of relationships between workers frequently affect the program progress. This problem of personal and personality differences tend to increase as work pressures and deadlines occur.

"The observer needs to be well informed on all aspects of the program, its policies, procedures, objectives, regulations, and obviously well acquainted with its personnel. He should be aware that handicapping misunderstandings between individuals (frequently due to lack of communication) are to be expected and that he may serve a vital role in improving understanding and reducing many anxieties which are interfering with orderly work progress. In this capacity he would be serving as a personnel counselor. In some circumstances he could serve in a role not considered in this description, for Project needs will vary. Insofar as possible, however, it is considered best that the observer does not function as a supervisor or authority figure. The possibility that he will be perceived as a threat by any of the program personnel (including the offenders) should be reduced to a minimum.

"It is believed that no specific measuring instruments or even a definite organized system and procedure of observation should be determined at the outset. It may be that if the observer keeps a brief but fairly complete running recorded account (diary) of his activities, observations, comments, feelings and reactions, that a recognized pattern and natural development of ideas and happenings will occur. When examined and studied in perspective, clues to support generalizations and recommended actions will be identified. Perhaps a flexible, adaptable, and effective system of observation procedures will be developed during the first year. It is desired that two-way communication between Program Observer and Project Observer, and also between Project Observers in all areas, be used frequently and effectively. Information regarding the development and use of new, interesting and effective techniques, methods, procedures of observation and evaluation should be exchanged.

"The selection of the observer is a function of the project director. Again it is difficult (and unnecessary to list the specific characteristics and accomplishments to be followed in selecting the observer. Obviously no person would be expected to perform with equal capability all of the various functions of an observer. Ideally, the observer should be a person who is experienced and knowledgeable in personnel practices and administrative management. He should have a good general college education with a graduate degree if possible, and with training and experience in such areas as counseling, rehabilitation, education, industrial relations, and correctional procedures. The experience and education desired and the importance of establishing sensitive relationships would strongly suggest a more mature person as an observer."

The first edition of the FOR Operations Manual was dated October 1, 1965. The project observer function was given scant treatment (because at that time little definite could be said about techniques and procedures). The function of the program observer was described as follows:

> "Although under the general supervision of the program director, he will act as an independent observer for the program in all its phases. He will assess, be concerned with, and focus his attention on what is occurring empirically as distinguished from that which was planned or designed in such matters as staff relationships, emerging roles and responsibilities, the impact of the developing program upon the behavior and practices of clients, professional staf, and personnel of the collaborating agencies. He will also observe the reaction of the public, employers, local officials, consultants and others. He will observe and evaluate the functioning of the Executive Committee as it assists the Program Director in accomplishing planned objectives. He will secure, encourage and evaluate suggestions, ideas, and recommendations for program improvement, including service to clients, from any and all personnel associated with FOR. With the help of the research director he will develop measuring instruments, methods, devices, techniques, procedures and policies for the collecting and evaluating of the above information. He will have direct contact with and coordinate the activities of the observers of the eight satellite projects. He will assist the Research Director in the preparation of subjective materials that will go into the progress and final reports."

The Chicago Conference was conducted, as planned, at the Federal Probation Training Center, U. S. Courthouse and Federal Building, and was attended by representatives of the four federal agencies and staff personnel (consultants, observers, project directors, probation/parole officers, VR counselors). Only three project observers (Seattle, Springfield, Chicago) were present. At that time, Raleigh was still involved in FOR and Tampa was not. Fifty conferees were in attendance.

This was to be an organizational - planning - coordinating - training meeting, and it was anticipated that there would be many problems to be faced. Here were well qualified, capable, and successful professionals from various disciplines joining forces and resources in a collaborative social service cause national in scope, daring in concept, innovative in procedures, requiring (if successful) close coordination and cooperation of work. These professionals were concerned about the worthiness of the program and were prepared to make critical inquiries in an effort to learn as much as possible. Most were strangers to each other and most were "service" rather than "research" oriented and experienced. It was expected that much anxiety and apprehension would be generated — and it was. There were few dull moments and productive, informal sessions continued far into each night. The keynote which sustained and motivated all the sessions was honesty-fairness-forthrightness with no attempt at evasion or subterfuge. Questions which could not be answered (and there were many) were acknowledged at once—and recorded so that an answer could be forthcoming.

The function and working policies and procedures of the project observer came in for much attention — and criticism. The presumption that it would generate anxiety proved well founded. Most expressed agreement with the theoretical concept of the observer as an extension of research, but had strong reservations about how well it would operate in practice. Brief explanations of the role (with opportunity for questions) were made by Sociological Consultant, Dr. Clarence Schrag; Loren A. Helberg, VRA Research Analyst; Richard Grant, VRA Consultant; Percy Bell, Program Director; and Claude Pangborn, Program Observer. Nobody seemed very happy with the resulting arrangement, although all agreed to give it a fair try. It was decided to allow the observer complete freedom in selecting what he would observe and how he would prepare his report. He was to have freedom to decide how he would submit his reports to the research director and whether or not — and in what way — he would share these reports and his observations with project staf and, especially, with project directors. The threatening aspects of the function were reflected in numerous comments, and it was evident that most project directors expected to be informed about the content of any observation reports. The observers also shared in the general skepticism about how effective their efforts would be as a research observer.

III. THE OBSERVER AT WORK

A. General

Following the Chicago Conference, clients (federal offenders) were randomly assigned to projects in three categories (two control groups and one intensive group) at different stages of the correctional process (probation, incarceration, parole, mandatory release) and counseling and other services to clients were started.

Observers were finally assigned to each of the eight projects and in Seattle, because of work commitments, it was decided to separate the work of the project observer from that of the program observer and a separate part-time project observer was appointed.

On January 3, 1966, a four-page memorandum entitled, "Developments in the Function and Role of the FOR Observer," was prepared and sent to all project directors and observers (Exhibit A). This was followed by a revised description of the program and project observer in the September 28, 1966 revision of the FOR Operations Manual (Exhibit B). On October 20, 1966, the program observer prepared a progress report for the information of the program and research director (Exhibit C).

Annual FOR Conferences were held in Seattle on June 14-16, 1966; in Denver on May 14-17, 1967; and, in San Antonio, September 16-20, 1968. Observer reports of these conferences were made and submitted to the program and research directors. An analysis of the Denver Conference was made by the program observer (Exhibit D). Observers participated in these conferences not only as observers but also as reporters, panelists and group discussion leaders. The program observer met with observers individually and in groups where common problems were discussed. As a result of these experiences, adjustments and developments were made in working procedures. It was decided, for example, not to require a stereotyped format for reporting observations which were made at the initiation of the project observer, but observation reports made at the request of program headquarters in Seattle were to follow a more structured pattern.

At one time in the planning period (prior to November 1965), the notion that the sociological consultant and the project observer should work in close relationship was introduced. Apparently, it came about because of concern for maintaining the integrity of the experimental design. This concern stemmed from the fact that research headquarters was centered in Seattle and that most of the staff personnel in the projects were not experienced in research procedures and methods. It was believed that the sociological consultant (more research oriented) might be in frequent contact with the project observer (the research extension). They would discuss observation findings with special attention to the effect upon research integrity. Findings would be reported to the research director in Seattle and, if indicated, shared with the project director and/or project executive committee. In most cases, consultant/observer meetings for the purpose of discussing FOR developments were held infrequently and primarily to discuss a particularly pressing problem. There were several reasons for such practices including: inadequate initial orientation to work responsibilities of both consultants and observers; consultants and observers were frequently separated by distances of a hundred miles or more and both were very busy in their regular professional work. In those instances when observers and consultants did work closely together on a task or problem (as in Denver, Pittsburgh and San Antonio), productive results happened.

Usually observers tended to spend most of their work time in FOR with VR counselors and in executive committee meetings. Reports were frequently shared with the project director and staff. Sometimes the observer discussed his observation findings with the persons observed prior to sending the report to the research director in Seattle, but usually the reports were sent prior to such sharing. The Seattle project director, after a discussion with staff, instructed the Seattle project observer to send his reports only to the research director (Exhibit E). On one case, the project director and VR counselor insisted upon editing all observer reports prior to their being sent to Seattle. In those instances where observer reports were sent direct to the research director in Seattle and not shared with the project director and/or staff, the relationship became strained and the observer tended to be viewed with suspicion. Such relationships were uncomfortable to both staff and observer and could only lead to less effective research observations. In most cases, the problem was resolved by an arrangement adapted to the needs and circumstances (including individual needs) of a project in such a way that the observer was accepted by other staff members, and they then demonstrated a willingness to share their work with him in a degree comparable to the observers demonstrated willingness to share his work with them. In addition, in all projects, the observer provided other services which will be discussed separately. This was contrary to initial planning and may have substantially interfered with the observer's impartiality as an extension of research, but the compelling reasons for increased observer involvement were potent and given the freedom of choice, the observer elected, in each project, to become more than only an impartial observer.

B. Observations Initiated by the Project Observer

Observers were encouraged to exercise complete freedom in deciding what to observe and how to prepare and submit reports to Seattle. In response to inquiries, the program director wrote a specific policy letter to all project directors, dated May 25, 1966, (Exhibit F) explaining that each observer was to decide how to submit his reports. No special effort was made to encourage observers to meet any production quota, but they were reassured personally and at all group meetings that their observation reports were carefully studied and discussed. With rare exceptions, these findings did not reveal information of such importance to the violation of research integrity that top management action was necessary for correction. Much report data tended to support and confirm information perceived from other sources (which was reassuring); some reports reflected a keen sense of perception and sensitivity and an awareness to developing trends, while others were evasive, guarded and stilted. As expected, there was great variance in the frequency and regularity of reporting, as well as in length and format. The length of reports varied from one to sixteen pages. The number of voluntary reports submitted was as follows:

Atlanta	36
Chicago	21
Denver	4
Pittsburgh	4
San Antonio	5
Seattle	35
Springfield	5
Tampa	3

The subjects or topics of observations covered a wide gamut, ranging from individual interviews with clients and staff to observations of group therapy sessions, executive committee meetings and FOR conferences. The most frequently reported topic was observations of executive committee meetings and individual interviews with staff discussing FOR project developments including interstaff and interagency relationships. Other observations reported were: Use of rehabilitation resources; group therapy; problems faced in dealing with clients, i.e., uncooperative attitudes, functional illiterates, narcotic addiction, etc.; reaction of staff to racial unrest; problems of finance, travel, use of emergency funds, use of tests and questionnaires, service to control clients; staff reactions to FOR procedures, directives, instructions and record-keeping (Exhibit G).

C. Observations Requested by Program Headquarters

On several occasions, as anticipated, it was believed FOR research developments needed additional information from the field which could best be secured through the use of the project observers. After discussion and approval of the executive committee, the following studies or observations were requested of all project observers:

1. February 3, 1966: Study of initial classification; questionnaire completion; commuting distances.
2. October 4, 1966: "The Use of Innovative Services in FOR" (Exhibit H).
3. October 18, 1967: "What Should the FOR Observer Observe and How Should He Report?" (Exhibit I).
4. January 2, 1968: "FOR Rehabilitation Services — Resources Opinion Survey".
5. November 20, 1968: "Special Observations During Remainder of the FOR Program" (Exhibit J).

The response of observers to these requests have been generally prompt, thoroughly investigated, fully and thoughtfully reported. The information secured has been helpful to research and suggests that a dual system of both free format and structured reporting is preferred.

D. Other Services Performed by the Observer

As previously discussed, the newly appointed project observer found himself charged with new and rather vague general responsibilities, with skimpy guidelines and directions on how to accomplish work objectives. This situation developed not by design so much as lack of foresight and long-range planning in the beginning. However, having a great deal of freedom in working out practical details, the observer responded by adapting himself, as best he could, to individual and project neds. Work schedules, finances, work group orientation, reporting procedures, etc., were developed in each project (some easily and some with difficulty and strong feelings). In every project, the observer became more or less involved in related tasks which, in the planning stage, were considered to be inappropriate for him. His decision to become involved in "operations" and the type of services he was to perform varied according to project needs, individual needs and the observer's skills and knowledge. With few exceptions, their services were invited, utilized effectively and appreciated by the staff. When the observer was overly eager to offer advice, counsel and suggestions, staff people tended to isolate him and see him as a threat. Performing needed services effectively, upon invitation, apparently helped the observer to achieve a status or position of confidence with most staff, which enabled him to perform his duties as a research observer more effectively. The question of how much this personal involvement interfered with his ability to make impartial, objective observations is open to debate. Most of the staff, including observers, came to believe, as a result of their experience, that the observer could function effectively in a combination role of participant-observer.

All observers participated, more or less actively, in executive committee meetings and most provided counsel, support and reassurance to VR counselors. Some (as in Chicago, Atlanta and Tampa) served more as a consultant. In these instances, it should be noted that regular consulting sociologists were not readily available. Some observers (as in Seattle, Atlanta and Chicago) got involved in group therapy sessions; in one case (San Antonio), the observer was used so extensively in communications between Spanish-speaking clients and the VR counselor that he found himself working as a counselor aide to the point where his job classification was changed from observer to caseworker. The term, "liaison," seemed to describe the kind of service done by some observers in their interviews and conferences with other staff. In several cases, the VR counselor was relatively new to rehabilitation counseling and inexperienced in working with the public offender population. In such cases, the observer was able to provide support, guidance and counsel to them during the early phases of FOR. Later, these services tapered off and were replaced by others more in line with the consultant-observer role. Case staffing services were performed at group meetings and with individual counselors; at least three observers assisted in the preparation of final reports and several observers were used as conference panelists and group leaders at FOR conferences. All were active participants at FOR conferences.

E. The Program Observer

In the early planning phase of FOR, the only references to the observer were limited to his work at the project level. The Seattle project observer was appointed in early June 1965, with the general understanding that he would serve primarily as a project observer, but that there was much to be done in planning over-all FOR operations as well as defining and developing the role of the observer. This position was always viewed (in staff discussion and executive committee meetings) as serving a "staff" or advisory function, rather than a "line" function and following the Chicago conference, it was quite clear that the relationship of the program observer to project observers was one of coordination and liaison activity between project observers and the FOR program and research directors in Seattle. This was clearly defined in the September 1966 revision of the FOR Operations Manual.

During the first five months of participation in FOR, most of the program observer's work activities dealt with the planning and organizing functions of management. There was active participation in numerous executive committee meetings and staff conferences, dealing with local and program operating problems. The preparation of the FOR Operations Manual occupied a great deal of time in staff coordination and discussions. Involvement in dealing with plans and problem solving inevitably resulted in creating much personal investment and interest in the progress of FOR. This personal involvement was later to present some problems in working as a project observer. Serving as an impartial, unbiased, uninvolved research observer became impossible. Also the demands of time in working as both program and project observer were in conflict with the regular daily professional work of the observer. It was decided to separate the functions, and in June 1966, Joseph T. Kunce, Ph.D. (Counseling Psychologist) was appointed to serve as the Seattle Project Observer.

The program observer continued to function as a staff advisor-consultant and liaison man working in close relationship with the research director and the program director. He attempted to limit his FOR schedule to one day a week, but occasionally this was exceeded during attendance at conferences and visits to each of the projects.

A listing of additional work activities and responsibilities included:

Assist program and research director in the planning and conducting of FOR conferences and in evaluating and summarizing conference happenings.

Assist research director in identifying research needs and in developing special surveys and instruments for securing needed information from the field. This includes analysis and interpretation of data received as a result of field surveys.

Coordinate the work of project observers including FOR conference activities.

Assist program and research directors in the preparation of special reports.

Visit each of the projects, meet with project staff for the purpose of identifying and evaluating individual and project needs with special reference to effect upon research. Prepare comprehensive reports for the research and program directors.

Edit the FOR newsletter (seven issues).

Prepare and write the final report on the function of the FOR observer.

IV. STAFF PERCEPTIONS OF THE OBSERVER'S ROLE

A. Local Project Staff

One of the secondary goals of FOR was to study the developing role of the observer. This study was to include not only those contributions that the observer might make which would be of value to the research staff in their data interpretations, but also the effect that the observer would have upon other staff members, as well as his own reactions to developing work experiences. As previously explained, the decision was made to allow the role of observer to remain rather loosely structured and to note how the function was carried out in different projects in response to varying individual and project needs.

Various means and methods of securing information needed to study and explain the developing role were utilized, including a study of voluntary and requested special reports; group meetings at FOR conferences; observations by program staff, including consultants and the program observer. Of special value was information secured by the program observer during 1968 (April 6-20), when he visted seven of the eight projects (San Antonio staff members were interviewed during the FOR Conference in September). In addition, it was decided to request each FOR consultant, project director, VR counselor, chief U. S. probation officer and project observer to describe and explain his impressions, opinions, evaluations and feelings about the function of the observer and the manner in which it was carried out in their experience.

The questions and topics of this special study were designed and posed, hopefully, to evoke thoughtful-subjective-analytical replies rather than definitive yes/no answers. It was desired to learn as much as possible about how these individuals perceived the work function, duties and responsibilities of the observer at the beginning of the program; how these functions were carried out in their projects; what changes in observer function developed and why; what problems developed with what results; and finally, under what circumstances could this function be carried out most effectively in a research-demonstration program, such as FOR.

Two different instruments (questionnaires) were prepared — one for project observers, dated July 17, 1968, and one for other staff personnel, dated October 16, 1968. Replies (varying in length from two to eleven pages) were received from the following: Project Directors (all projects), Observers (all projects except one), Chief U. S. Probation Officers (all projects except one), VR Counselors (all), and Consultants (seven of nine requested).

The FOR research director, Dr. Clarence C. Schrag (consultant), and Dr. Frank Schmidt (consultant) were interviewed personally by the program observer, and Dr. Loren A. Helberg was interviewed by telephone.

Each individual was asked to describe what he perceived or understood to be the function or purpose of the observer in the FOR Program at the time he (the individual) was introduced to FOR.

VR COUNSELORS were in agreement that the observer was to be free to make independent observations of any and all aspects of functions of FOR and that these observations were to be as objective-unbiased-impartial as possible. It was stressed that special attention should be directed to interpersonal relations and attitudes which were not reported elsewhere, but which might effect the interpretation of reported research information and data. The purpose of "protecting the integrity of the experimental design" was mentioned (by 8 of 10 counselors). Half mentioned other functions, such as staff development and problem solving, which indicated that the observer was seen as providing some sort of service or staff function to the local project, as well as research service to the program research director.

CHIEF U. S. PROBATION OFFICERS agreed with counselors that observers should be free to make independent impartial observations of any FOR activity and that these observations were to be secured for "research purposes." In all, but one case, chief U. S. probation officers saw the observer as providing some sort of staff service to project personnel.

PROJECT DIRECTORS concurred regarding need for independent action on the part of the observer. Reference was made to his duties and responsibilities "as outlined in the Manual of Operations." One said he was not clear as to the observer's duties even after reading the job description in the Manual. In only two instances, the question of line responsibility was mentioned and each indicated realization that the observer's prime function was as a research tool.

CONSULTANTS were unanimous in agreeing that the observer was a research tool designed for the purpose of securing information by an "outsider" of professional competence who was free to note and report upon any aspect of FOR activity. Special attention was directed toward attitudes and relationship of staff. Comments were made about anticipated difficulties in establishing effective staff relations because of the investigative aspect of making observations.

PROJECT OBSERVERS were asked to describe their perception of the observer role in more detail. Each understood and accepted the job description in the Operations Manual and expanded upon in the instruction sheets of September 24, 1965, "The Role of the Observer in the Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program," (see page 235), and the general memo to all observers, dated January 3, 1966, "Developments in the Functions and Role of the FOR Observer." (Exhibit A)

There was unanimous agreement that observers should have freedom to inquire and observe any and all aspects of FOR and that it was important that this be done in as unbiased and objective a manner as possible. Each recognized that an observer needed to establish good relationships, including good communication with all staff people in order to perform effectively as an observer. To most observers, this meant providing some other function or service to local project staff, i.e., participation in executive committee meetings; case staffing; counselor training and support; client counseling; group therapy; "liaison" and "coordinating resource" service with various staff personnel (often referred to as "feedback"). One observer terms this providing a "stimulant" to staff people and several expressed concern that such involvement could interfere with the "unbiased-objective" reporting of observations for research purposes. Even those who expressed convictions that the observer (as an extension of research) should remain as uninvolved-nonjudgmental-impartial and unbiased as possible recognized how difficult it was to resist "helping" staff personnel who request and need help in areas where the observer is knowledgeable and skillful and able to help. When an observer accepts the understanding that his effectiveness as a research technician is dependent to a large part upon establishing good interpersonal relationships with staff people from all agencies (as in FOR), the motivation to "help out" becomes very cogent.

All observers were aware that they were serving more than one function and that the variety, intensity and extent of such services fluctuated. These fluctuations occurred, they believed, in accordance with individual needs and capacities of the observer. If a VR counselor was inexperienced and faced with handling a difficult case, and if the observer was knowledgeable and experienced in handling certain aspects of the problem, and was requested by the VR counselor to "discuss" the case, it became very difficult to deny such assistance. Several observers noted that their roles tended to change over the three-year period. During the first few months, there were more uncertainty - confusion - apprehension - anxiety - strained relations expressed by all staff with regard to the oqserver. Where the observer was known prior to FOR and respected as a professional (as in Chicago, Tampa, Atlanta and Seattle), there was a much smoother introduction to FOR, an earlier role adjustment on the part of the observer and a much freer exchange of information and confidences. Also it should be noted that the observers in the above projects tended to be older and more experienced behavioral science professionals. They were not struggling for status or recognition and probably were seen by staff as less of a threat to any vested interests. It was apparent to observers that as the program developed over the three-year period, the observer function was seen as less of a threat and he was, with few exceptions, accepted as a member of the "team." His "services" to the project tended to become less that of a teacher-counselor-advisor-consultant and more of a group participant and observer (such as in executive committee meetings) and the feeling was expressed that they began to act more in accord with the Operations Manual description of the observer role. An exception to this was noted in at least two of the projects where the observer was to assist in the preparation of the final report. An attempt was made to have each respondent express his opinions as to whether or not the observer functioned in accord with instructions from program headquarters in Seattle and also to give his opinion as to the value of such a function.

Most respondents expressed doubt about how closely observers complied with the official job description. Since they had little feedback from Seattle (on the work of the observer), they considered themselves unable to make a very accurate evaluation. With few exceptions, it was acknowledged that, in addition to whatever research service the observer provided, he proved to be a valuable member of the "project team" and in this respect, they felt qualified to make evaluations. Counselors expressed appreciation for assistance in case staffing, conducting group therapy, sociological consultant services and personal support and encouragement. These "extra" services were considered by counselors to be the most valuable contribution of the observers to the project. In one case (San Antonio), his services in communicating with clients who had an English language handicap were needed and used to such an extent that it became necessary to change his function from observer to counselor aide. The San Antonio counselor and the project director were of the opinion that the observer function (as described in the Manual of Operations) was not needed by them.

PROBATION OFFICERS tended to be much more dubious about the value of the observer to research and to the project. With one major exception (Chicago), they expressed inability to evaluate the work of the observer, based upon "lack of information" and "infrequent contact." In general, they were aware that the observer was performing other services than outlined in the Operations Manual, but again were reluctant to evaluate work performance. In Chicago, the Chief U. S. Probation Officer and observer had done some work together prior to FOR, and they maintained and developed, over the life of the project, a mutually appreciative working relationship.

PROJECT DIRECTORS gave guarded replies with reference to the value of observers to research, although they agreed that the theoretical concept was basically sound. Their attitude was interpreted to mean that if they were the research director, they would welcome such observations, but that given the project director's role, with stress on rehabilitation services, other values took precedence. There was some irritation and dissatisfaction expressed in those cases where observer reporting was made direct to Seattle without clearance through the project director (as in San Antonio, Denver, Springfield and Pittsburgh). In those cases where the project director was especially pleased and satisfied with the observer function (Chicago, Tampa, Atlanta), these impressions were related to the observer's performance of tasks which were not contemplated or encouraged in the job descriptions noted in the Manual of Operations. Negative responses seemed to be related less to what the observer did and more to the fact that they didn't know what he was doing.

CONSULTANTS were also in agreement that the observers did not function in strict accord with the original concept and job description. In most cases, the observer and the consultant did not establish a very close working relationship. As previously explained, the "hoped for" plan of having a highly qualified project consultant in one of the behavioral sciences working in close coordination with the observer for the purpose of protecting the integrity of the research experimental design didn't happen. Because of the resulting lack of close working relationships, consultants were not well informed, generally, regarding the work of the observer. They, too, considered the function of a research observer, as planned, to be a valuable concept and recognized how very difficult it is for an observer (under similar circumstances) to avoid personal investment and involvement in the success-failure aspects. All consultants (except San Antonio) were definite in their support of the value both to research and project goals of having an observer perform as they did in FOR. They expressed interest in learning what additional services were provided by observers; the value of such services to the project and the effect upon research. In the local projects, the usual contacts between consultants and observers occurred at executive committee meetings and conferences. In San Antonio, the second observer met occasionally with the consultant (in the consultant's office on a college campus) to discuss the problems the observer was experiencing in attempting to perform his work according to plan. Since the services of an observer were considered unnecessary by the VR counselor and the project director, his performance, according to the Manual of Operations plan, was discouraged. The consultant, therefore, had reservations about the value of his function unless the observer were to enjoy complete freedom of observation and reporting without fear of consequences. Each consultant placed special importance upon the value to research interpretation and analysis of having information available about personal relationships, attitudes and feelings of people involved in the program which is not usually available from regular reports and records.

OBSERVERS have expressed concern (and reservations) about the value of their contribution to the research aspects of FOR. Although informed and reassured that their observations were being studied and utilized, as intended, in interpreting other data, the lack of immediate evaluative feedback seemed to be interpreted negatively. They felt pretty good, generally, about the value of their other contributions. While maintaining belief in the value to research of impartial-unbiased observation and reporting, all expressed doubts that the pure objective, impartial camera-tape recorder type of observation-reporting could be achieved. Most reflected in their over-all responses the feeling that the observer-consultant type role was not only possible, but more effective in achieving broad objectives and, hence, more desirable as a work role. One observer comments, "I find it difficult to separate the two functions. In order to consult in projects of this sort, the consultant must be an astute observer and the observer, in the course of his observations, gains insights into the ways to improve methods or practice and rehabilitation, which he should share with staff, thereby assuming the role of the consultant." Another responds: "This change in my role as an observer from a rather detached, non-involved position to a full-fledged participant came about gradually and without conscious plan. This change did not really seem to be in violation of the original plan for the observer because it permitted observations from a deeper, more involved, interpersonal level. I might speculate that this change came about through identification with the VR counselor and an attitude of empathy for his struggles to accomplish some objectives with a type of client who has continued to defy the best approaches of readjustment from the traditional disciplines of psychology, sociology and psychiatry." And again: "I think it is helpful to have an observer on a project of this type that involves multiple agency work. It is helpful in the sense that observations can be made and reported by a person from the 'outside' who does not fear reprisal from the agency executives. The success of his approach in business and industry is documented on a widespread scale. A major value of an outside consultant may be his ability to help clarify and untangle some of the human factors present in a project of this type that seems to operate on a kind of philosophical dualism. On the one hand, you have a flurry of activity on an interprofessional level between agency personnel revolving around differences in salary scales, agency objectives and techniques, degrees of freedom, and general occupational satisfaction. On the other hand, and at a different level of activity, you have the professional client dimension which supplies the main vehicle for service delivery to the offender. These forces revolve on parallel levels and frequently interact at points that are both beneficial and harmful to the client and it is useful for an outside observer to report on these points of interchange. To what extent is the one-to-one relationship between the counselor and the client influenced by the counselor's attitude toward professionals in related agencies who share interest in the client's welfare with him? It is very likely a powerful determinant and the harmful effects are obvious if a professional from one agency says to the client that the officials from a collaborative agency are not very helpful, productive or worthwhile. This attitude may never be expressed openly during a relationship; however, it is reasonable to expect that the subtle overtones of positive or negative regard for a cooperating agency are communicated to the client. What can an observer do? Perhaps, he should try to gain the confidence of the service agencies involved and over a time, help them to see the details of a partnership that will be of maximum value to the offender."

Another observer reports, "The primary working relationships are established with the project consultant, project director and VR counselor among whom he functions as liaison. His responsibility to the program observer and the research director has been to report significant changes in policy and new approaches being tried out by the project staff. The other aspect of the project observer has been to function as a 'Junior Consultant' to project staff . . . he has served as a sounding board for ideas, both general and specific, dealing with problems which develop." One observer who enjoyed complete acceptance and confidence of all project staff reports: "At the beginning my role was seen largely as being the eyes and ears for members of the Seattle office. The point was made in the annual meeting in Seattle that the observer was a participant on the local scene. The role changed, due to the emphasis in the Seattle meeting and to the observer's own inclination, to that of participant-observer. The observer was accepted as a full participant in the executive meetings and was frequently called on to give feedback during the executive meeting as a scheduled item of business. Copies of all written reports sent to Seattle were first sent to the project director with time given for any corrections or responses he might want to make. By a process of evolution, the role of the observer shifted to an emphasis on more participation and involvement as time went on . . . aside from performing certain obvious functions for the Seattle office, the value of the observer to the local project is seen to be primarily in the area of adding an element of objectivity to the ongoing work of the project. This official shift did not seem to alter the observer's role nearly so much as the evolutionary process of becoming involved in the project and the people. Since first-hand feedback was expected, the observations given to the local project members came early enough to effect change in plans at the time they were being formulated. Even though the observer is more involved now than at the beginning, a certain element of objectivity is maintained when consciously observing."

It was realized that introducing a relatively new —loosely structured inspection — control type role into a new organization, such as FOR, where work roles with new personnel were not clearly defined or developed, would probably be interpreted as threatening by many staff people. This proved to be a valid assumption and it was handled with varying degrees of success in different projects. Each respondent was asked to identify factors or circumstances or attitudes which would tend to inhibit, discourage or interfere with the effective functioning or a project observer in such a study as FOR.

COUNSELORS mentioned only incidentally the lack of freedom on the part of the observer in his choice of observations as a handicap. Much more emphasis was placed upon such things as: lack of clear-cut work guidelines for the observer; lack of confidence to criticize when needed; staff personnel not being well informed on the need for an observer and lacking a clear understanding of the observer's job duties and responsibilities. Lack of openness and honesty in accepting the observer into the staff was noted, as well as limited work time available to the observer and poor communications with the project director. Additional factors mentioned were changes in observer personnel and failure to share reports with staff. One observer was described as biased and not well qualified professionally.

CHIEF U. S. PROBATION OFFICERS referred to such things as negative personal characteristics on the part of the observer (lacking interest, being biased, weak professional education), but placed more importance on such things as: lacking familiarity with the field of corrections; lack of clear-cut knowledge of observer duties and responsibilities on the part of all personnel; focusing too much attention on one phase of the program, i.e., not spending enough time with corrections staff; lack of feedback from the observer; use of the observer on the project for some other purpose than research.

PROJECT DIRECTORS gave scant attention to the task of observers in determining what to observe and how to report observations. Lack of knowledge about his job duties and responsibilities was frequently referred to as well as "over identification" with one phase of the project; several references were made to the danger of an observer being used for other purposes than research and the negative characteristics such as lacking interest, lacking self-confidence, lacking professional attitude, personal bias, were noted. One project director mentioned lack of funds, saying he discovered greater need for the observer's services than he had anticipated.

CONSULTANTS expressed more concern about personal characteristics and interpersonal relations with staff as critical factors in observer effectiveness. They recognized also the danger to objective reporting if an observer was too involved with "operations" or if he was restricted by policy or procedure in his choice of observations and method of reporting. Comment: "If the observer is to perform well, his main role is one of listening and of observing, not of taking sides or being critical." Comment: "Divided, ambiguous and inadequate instructions and supervisory controls could lead to serious problems." Comment: "The local project director should be kept informed at all times of the observer's activities [by the observer] [or ill feelings will develop]." Comment: "An attitude developed that there was a right way and a wrong way of doing things on the part of the observer or the observed would tend to inhibit the expression of behavior on the part of the observer."

OBSERVERS mentioned the following as factors which most frequently interfered with their performing effectively: non-acceptance, distrust, lack of confidence, wariness and reluctance of staff to level fully and sincerely with the observer. If the observer is seen as a snooper — an inspector — an informer — he becomes a threat and communication with him is guarded. Lack of freedom in what to observe seemed to be no problem nor was freedom of reporting procedures noted as any special handicap. References were made to the observer becoming so involved in operations that his function as a "research aide" were reduced, but the preponderance of concern was upon the matter of staff acceptance of the observer and the development of mutual confidence and respect.

Aside from the specific position and job description of the project observer (i.e., his duties and responsibilities already discussed), there remained the important decision of where to place this function in the organization in terms of administrative and supervisory relationships and control. Clearly it was a staff function providing very specific and specialized services of a highly sensitive nature. Since the service was conceived and designed primarily as an "arm of research" and since the research function, direction, collection, storing and analysis was centralized in Seattle, was it not logical to have the research director serve as the immediate work supervisor of all the observers?

As previously discussed, this matter had not been given much attention prior to the Chicago conference in November 1965. It proved to be a matter of great interest and one generating much anxiety. When the decision was made to split or divide administrative controls of the observer function between the local projects and the Seattle headquarters, it was considered a choice compelled by circumstances of finance and one which might create special kinds of problems. The reaction of staff to this dual control policy has been observed over the life of the program and one of the questions in this comprehensive survey was intended to investigate feelings and opinions in the matter.

COUNSELORS agreed that the observer should have complete freedom of deciding what he will investigate or observe. Most counselors believed his reports should be shared with the project staff as well as the research director in Seattle, but that the reports should not be altered, amended or changed by anybody. There was divided opinion about supervisory controls with most believing that technical direction-instruction should come from the program headquarters with the local project director given some administrative responsibility. One counselor believed all decisions concerning what to observe should come from the program headquarters through the project director to the observer and all reports of observation should be cleared through the project director, then sent by him to the program headquarters. The emphasis upon local control was noted when five counselors indicated a preference for local financial control with three electing program headquarters financing and two showing no preference.

CHIEF U. S. PROBATION OFFICERS tend to see the observer more as an extension of research with supervision and instructions and financing coming directly from a central or national headquarters. This matter did not appear to be of great importance to them and apparently, they were not aware of or personally involved in any special problems dealing with finance or administration insofar as the observer was concerned. Most made a point of recommending that the observer's findings should be shared with project staff and also that his skills and knowledge should be used for other project needs as well as research, i.e., as a consultant.

PROJECT DIRECTORS prefer local financing and control, although one wanted national headquarters financing and local supervision and control. One considered the function of little value and preferred not to have an observer assigned as a staff function in his area. All those considering the function of value (7) wanted to profit from the observations made by the observer; but only the project director who considered the function of little or no value wanted all observer reports cleared first through the project director. Project directors believed the observer should have complete freedom to observe but very clearly wanted him to function as a participant-observer-consultant rather than a restricted research technician.

Five of the seven **CONSULTANTS** were in agreement that both financing and administrative supervisory control should be from a central headquarters. One neglected to answer that question and one believed that observer functions should be carried out by all staff members. Their observations, he believed, should be fully expressed, discussed and shared for the function is important and need not be vested in one person.

OBSERVERS see themselves as requiring a minimum of supervision and direction and a maximum of freedom from controls in order to function most effectively. They see the central headquarters system as more apt to meet this condition, and while they prefer to share their findings with local staff, they want to retain the privilege of deciding about reporting procedures. Financing apparently was not considered a problem, although it would seem to follow that maximum freedom of operation could not be achieved unless financing was done by a central agency.

When it was decided (in the pre-planning stage of FOR) that an observer was to be a regular member (part-time) of each project staff, no attempt was made to list desirable educational experience or personal qualifications for the position. It was believed, as previously mentioned, that the observer would be a skilled and knowledgeable professional in one of the behavioral sciences.

The question, "If you believe the observer function to be of some value to this or a similar project, then what would be his professional education or experience?", was put to each respondent.

COUNSELORS are in agreement that an advanced degree (Masters or above) in one of the behavioral sciences is desirable. All emphasized the importance of professional experience (1 to 5 years) preferably in rehabilitation and/or corrections. Two made specific reference to research experience. Three added the additional personal characteristic of maturity, self-confidence, stability, ability to make decisions, ability to accept criticisms.

CHIEF U. S. PROBATION OFFICERS concurred on the need for a formal education to at least an undergraduate degree with advanced degrees desirable. Greater emphasis was directed at the value of work experience in related fields and especially experience in the field of corrections.

PROJECT DIRECTORS seemed to find the need for observers to have extensive education and experience with graduate degrees mentioned in most cases. They were also more definite about the value of previous work experience in the behavioral sciences. Desired personal characteristics and qualifications mentioned were: ability to work with a variety of people; ability to maintain independence and objectivity in observations and reporting; ability to perform both as a consultant and a research observer; ability to gain confidence of those observed; skill in interviewing; skill in communication; fairness; sincerity; and cooperativeness. One project director considered the service of an observer so valuable that he planned to request this position be extended for the agency's regular on-going services as well as for research purposes.

CONSULTANTS perceived the observer's role as one requiring a high level of professional skill-knowledge-experience. Graduate level or above was indicated. Professional qualifications equal to those of sociological or psychological consultants were recommended. One consultant, as previously indicated, believed that it might be more effective to delegate the observer functions to all the professional staff rather than to one person. Consultants, more than other staff members, attributed greater importance to personal characteristics such as: skill in group dynamics – in impartial, perceptive observations and reporting; ability to separate and perform both as an observer and observer-consultant, possessing maturity, good judgment, emotional stability; skill in personal relationships; ability to make organized, orderly observations, sensitivity to "body language" as well as "language tones;" steeped in experimental methods.

OBSERVERS were also asked to describe the circumstances under which they would recommend the use of an independent firm or agency for the purpose of making observations. Three (of 10) would consider it, if highly qualified professionals could be secured. There was some advantage, they thought, of securing a higher degree of independence, freedom and impartiality in observations and reporting if not attached to the agency promoting the research. Two were conditional depending upon local circumstances and one said only as a last resort. Four were very definite in saying the observer should be secured locally and attached to the local project. In these cases, consulting services other than as a "research tool" were indicated.

B. Research Director

A special interview (following the format outlined in the memo of October 16, 1968) was conducted with the Research Director, Mrs. Merlyn Matthews, and the summary of her comments and reaction to these questions follows.

Mrs. Matthews reflected her thinking, opinions and notion of the role of the observer as it existed at the time of the Chicago conference in November 1965 and in the two-page memo, dated September 24, 1965, entitled, "The Role of the Observer in the Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program." This memo was prepared by Claude C. Pangborn, after consultation with the program director and members of the executive committee. She had considered the program observer to be a professional worker or scholar, knowledgeable and skillful in the behavioral sciences, whose primary job would be to make independent and objective observations of any and all aspects of the FOR program and to report these observations directly to the research director in Seattle with no coordinating copies going to any members of the project staff. She felt that it was very important that these reports should be complete and objective with no chance of discoloration by reason of any concern over how they would be interpreted at the local project level. She thought of the observer as functioning pretty much as a "camera", reporting what is seen and heard with a minimum amount of interpretation or evaluation. It was her desire that the matter of determining what to observe be left open-ended purposely so as not to restrict, limit or stereotype the kinds of observations which would be made. It was considered that this interpretation would not result in any changes at the project level unless there was danger to the integrity of the experimental design.

Of particular interest in terms of observations were the feelings, attitudes, opinions, and reactions of individual members of the project staff, both full and parttime. She expressed disappointment in the action taken by the program director and the program observer in setting up a procedure whereby the project observer was free to share with the project director the results of his observations and that this could be done prior to the observations being sent to Seattle. She understood the rationale dealing with finances which led to the organizational need to have the project observer more closely associated with the project director, in fact, selected by him and his executive committee and paid out of project funds. It was her feeling at that time that, although it would have been risky to compel direct and sole reporting to the research director, the observer's role might have been carried out in a much different manner than was actually evolved in our experience.

It was Mrs. Matthews' opinion that in no project was the role of the observer carried out in the manner in which she had originally conceived it. In each of the projects, she noted that there was a wide variance in terms of the background and personality characteristics of observers; that given very loosely structured guidelines for conducting their functions, it was inevitable that there should be considerable variance in the manner in which their observations were performed and observed and also apparent was the performance of other functions not envisaged as part and parcel of the observer's job. She noted in each of the projects that the observer tended to function pretty much in terms of his own professional orientation, skills, knowledge and interests, but that also, in accord with the role developed for him, he related to the needs of the individual project, including the needs of the personnel involved in the project, such as the project director, the counselor, the consultant, etc.

In spite of the restrictions and limitations placed upon the observer in terms of research value by his close role in individual projects and the method of reporting, she felt that the information received from observers tended to fill in gaps missing in routine reports and was helpful in understanding individual project development. The term, "augmented," was used in describing their benefits and relationships to regular reports. No single observation or series of reports were used as a basis for making any drastic changes in the operation of any project. This, she repeated, was not the intent, or action desired to be taken, as a result of observations unless the contamination of the experimental design was evident.

Concerning the duties, responsibilities and authority vested in a project observer in a collaborative research program, such as FOR, Mrs. Matthews repeated most of the points noted above: the observer should be very carefully selected, and the selection should be made by mutual agreement between the project director, the research director, and the program director. The observer should be absolutely free to observe, react and report on any phase and aspect of the

FOR program as it occurred in a particular project. These reports, she believed, should be sent only to the research director, even though this would introduce a threat to the quality of his relationship to the project staff. It was her feeling that much of the observer's effectiveness would be related to his high professional ability and his skill and knowledge in relating successfully to project people in such a way that they would not be threatened by his presence, his observations, or the fact that he was reporting this information directly to a central headquarters. He should receive his instructions and his supervision from a central headquarters, thus relieving the local project of these problems and leaving him in a freer position to make independent, objective observations. She believed that central headquarters should exercise more direct supervision and control over the duties of an observer in such things as regular reporting periods with regular reporting formats being utilized. This did not mean that the observer would be limited to these observations, but rather that they would be set up as a minimum. She recognized that setting up such a rigid and controlling organizational reporting procedure carries an element of risk, insofar as quality of observations were concerned, where it was quite possible, that unless the observer were carefully selected by staff people understanding his objectives and his functions, he could very easily be rejected by the group and relegated to a category of suspicion and threat which would seriously interfere with his effective functioning as an observer. To offset this, it would be necessary to carefully select observers of high professional quality and to put into effect a system of orientation whereby all members associated with the project would be very familiar with the observer's function, role and responsibilities and would be reassured that the observer's reports would not result in any threat or harm to any of the staff members. The observer's major field of interest or specialization would probably vary according to the matter under investigation or study in the research. For the rehabilitation of public offenders, she believed social workers or sociologists were better fitted to meet and fulfill the role of observer than would be a psychologist, for example. This is not to indicate that a psychologist's services would be ineffective, but rather that in this project, their skills could be utilized better through purchased services to individual clients. It could well be that in another kind of research, a psychologist would be much better fitted in the role of observer.

The intent of this phase of the inquiry was to try and identify the problems, attitudes or feelings which tend to inhibit, discourage or interfere with the effectiveness of a project observer. Reiterated were some of the matters already noted, such as the observer being seen as a threat by staff people and thus rejected or incompletely informed. Other negative factors would result if the observer was to become so closely identified with the success or failure of the project that his reporting and observations became understandably biased or lacking in objectivity and completeness. Also noted were such things as the observer being so involved and busy in his own professional work that he found it impossible or extremely difficult to devote the necessary time to the individual project work as an observer. Too loose a reporting procedure or structured job description might also be discouraging to an objective performance and reporting. A large part of this could also be related to individual qualities and characteristics of observers and their attitudes toward the job. If an observer were restricted or limited to a minimum amount of time that he could devote to a project and also if his pay scale was inadequate, the probability of effective functioning as an observer is less.

The matter of level of education was pretty much open-ended. Certainly, the equivalency of a college degree was necessary, but beyond this formal education, while highly desirable, was not considered quite as important as specialized experience and personal qualities and characteristics needed to perform his job properly. The description, "a rare skill," is needed in order to handle this function in such a way as to secure objective and full reporting without damaging interpersonal relationships. The ideal, desirable observer should be familiar with the field in which the research is being made. In the field of rehabilitation of the public offender, for example, it would be important that the observer have a good background of training and experience in the field of rehabilitation, as well as corrections, and it would be desirable to have some knowledge of sociology and research in the field of sociology. A high level of skill in written and spoken communication is important. Ability to reduce personal bias to a minimum to report objectively and open-mindedly is a very important personal trait. Of paramount importance would be a high level of personal security or sense of personal security on the part of the observer, so that he would not be threatened or feel defensive as a result of his sensitive role in relating to people whom he was observing. He should be available on a regular basis in such a way that his services could be useful to research; this would mean, she believed, at least on a quarter-time basis; perhaps, on occasions, more frequently. It would require a situation in which the observer already was rather securely established in a professional capacity, independent of his role as an observer. His pay as an observer should be commensurate with his regular professional role, since such a high level of skill, knowledge and personal characteristics was needed. This would probably mean a fairly high professional salary scale. Even though the observer's expenses were to be borne by a central agency or headquarters, his final selection should be agreed to by the project director and the executive committee, as well as the research director and program director at the central headquarters. Mrs. Matthews recognized a weakness in our current feedback to line and staff personnel in the field, both part- and full-time workers. She believed this can be eventually improved by some sort of a reporting procedure involving frequent personal visits on the part of central staff personnel, as well as occasional and regular written feedback to project personnel. In addition, she thought that more frequent meeting of all program personnel would be helpful, including even meetings of specialized personnel, such as observers, since they were very apt to feel isolated and apart from the regular operating project staff. She thought that the original intent of using graduate students and having them associated directly with a professional consultant of academic stature, such as a college professor, was not very practical or desirable. Graduate students are too much involved and obligated in their particular studies to devote the necessary time, interest and objectivity to a research observer's role, and, in many cases, would not be adequately trained or experienced even to carry out effectively the role of the observer.

C. The Program Observer

The idea of collecting facts (including facts of feelings, emotions and attitudes) prior to analysis and decision-making is inherent in the so-called scientific thinking process. This practice is common in all scientific investigations as well as in all problem-solving tasks. The decision to use observers as another research fact-finding tool is sensible for it attempts to introduce a research "specialist" observing phenomena in a work setting devoted to services and goals other than research. In collaborative research, such as practiced in the FOR Program, where multiple agencies, involving professional disciplines located in widely separated geographical locations, are to work together for common goals, it is obvious that many happenings could occur to interfere with orderly progress toward research goals. There are many important things which happen in a work situation that are reported by regular, routine methods to a central control center. There are also many things occurring in work situations that are not reported, and may not even be recognized or expressed, that affect workers and their behavior as workers. It is in this area of observation and reporting that the active observer in a research/demonstration project can make a valuable contribution.

As one FOR project observer comments:

> "One of the significant functions of the observer is the recording, as objectively as possible, of a broad range of happenings at the time they are taking place. This technique is used by anthropologists in studying cultures other than their own. The advantage of this approach is that they record everything possible, whether or not it seems significant at the time. If they had the gift of hindsight at any given moment, they might be able to eliminate certain items, but to attempt to distinguish between important and unimportant events at the time they occur is premature and risks the loss of material that may later prove to be significant. This type of anthropological data collecting serves two purposes in this research, as I see it. *First,* it provides the best method of being the eyes and ears in a local situation for the research planners in Seattle. *Second,* this type of data reporting provides reasonably objective descriptions which are helpful in interpreting the meaning of statistical data at the end of the research project."

Although research goals were clearly designated as primary objectives in FOR, they were to be secured through the process of many different people providing a wide variety of services to hundreds of clients each with specialized needs and value systems.

It was in this setting – in a new organization – with little precedence to follow, with scanty guidelines for direction and control and with divided lines of authority, that the observer was put to work. One would expect him to work out and adopt procedures, techniques and relationships according to individual and project needs which would provide him feelings of work satisfaction and pride while serving two masters – research and rehabilitation services.

In most cases, he was able to satisfy, reasonably well, both masters, and also his own need for pride in doing an important job well. In the process there were many learning experiences – pleasant as well as unpleasant. There were several developments which seemed to be of special significance and could constitute a worthwhile contribution to research. It was apparent that the use of observers did not guarantee research design integrity and, as with most tools, this one was of value in proportion to the professional skills and personal characteristics of the individuals involved.

My opinions, beliefs and recommendations regarding the use of observers in a collaborative nationwide research program such as FOR was based upon the experiences of the past three years in FOR. A great many capable, experienced and dedicated professionals in the behavioral science field applied their skills and knowledge over a three-year period in a collaborative effort to achieve a common goal. It was quite apparent they wanted and expected research results to support the hypothesis that intensive rehabilitation services would prove of significant value in the rehabilitation of public offenders. This same positive-constructive helpful attitude applied, for the most part, in their treatment of the observer.

The threatening aspects of introducing a new inspector-auditor-big brother is watching-type role into a new organization (where positions and pecking order were in the process of being formed) led logically to the prediction that the FOR observer would have a rough reception. With few exceptions, the observer experienced a friendly-accepting-trusting working relationship. He was accepted, usually, into the work group and his counsel and opinions sought and respected. I believe the development of mutually pleasant working relationships occurred not by accident, but because it was desired by the people concerned, and consciously worked for as a goal.

In none of the projects did the observer function only as an unbiased-uninvolved-impartial recorder and reporter of facts. Most attempted to follow such a procedure but individual and project needs compelled the observer to perform in a manner and degree different from that hoped for in the design. The question of how effective and useful an observer is as a research tool (under the conditions noted above) was not determined by this experience in FOR. Our experience over a three-year period leads me to believe that had we been able to follow out with exactness the narrow and limited role of the observer as a research tool, it would have proven quite ineffective in securing information (both in quantity and quality) of any significant value in accomplishing the goals of FOR research. In those cases where an attempt was made to perform in this manner, feelings of resentment developed and the ability of the observer to function as an observer was seriously limited.

In a nationwide operation, such as FOR, the conditions and circumstances which would be most favorable to the effective use of an observer should include:

> A clear, concise and complete position description of the observer including major and minor objectives of his function. For what is he responsible? What authority or power does he have to carry out his duties and responsibilities? To whom does he report, how, when, and for what purpose?

Not only should the observer be thoroughly familiar with his duties, responsibilities and authority, but all staff personnel with whom he will be working should also be well informed about his work, and, if possible, about the observer as a person and a professional. The confidence of staff in the competence and integrity of the observer is a critical factor in his effectiveness and every effort should be made to enhance and improve his position of trust and confidence.

Desirable qualities and characteristics of the observer are of high standards. He should be a mature person, well-trained with several years of successful professional experience in the behavioral sciences. A Ph.D. degree would be desirable, but more important would be his personal stability, confidence in self as well as his professional competence. He should be very sensitive and perceptive of feeling tones and attitudes with much patience and a good listener. Skill in interviewing — especially in writing — is of great importance. He should be available as needed for observer duties within commuting distance. It would be better if he were not dependent upon income from his duties as an observer. He needs to be capable of making complete, accurate and objective observations of any and all phenomena which he chooses, as well as those requested of him by a national headquarters. The observer should decide with whom he wants to share his observations (within the program organization) and the manner in which he cares to share it. The evidence is very strong that his over-all effectiveness will generally be increased in proportion to his skill, competence and honesty in sharing the results of his observations with both local and national staff. It will be in this sensitive area of observation sharing that the highest professional skill and personal competence will be required.

Written reports should not be confined to a rigid format or outline but the observations should, usually, be planned and agreed upon in advance and should include attention to desired objectives of knowledge or related factors with several alternative approaches selected. He should not only see and hear what is happening and report it, but should also be sensitive and perceptive to what is "feelable" and be prepared to interpret and report this as well. The threat of personal involvement reducing objectivity is evident, but professional competence and personal integrity will serve to counterbalance this threat. The research director should be able to request that certain desired observations be made, including format and procedures.

The local observer should be selected by the local executive committee but concurrence of the national program and research directors is to be required. His organizational line responsibility is to the national research director, and it is from that position incumbent that he should receive instructions and supervision.

The observer expenses should be paid from national headquarters and fees should be commensurate with other highly qualified behavioral scientists in the locality. I believe serious consideration should be given to the combined function of a consultant-observer. This dual function was, in fact, experienced in four of the projects, and in my opinion, handled with success.

The value of using an outside agency for professional observations seems questionable. It might be justified in those rare instances where local or national staff were unable (for some reason) to cope with a particularly serious problem and an emergency in depth investigation was needed.

The use of graduate students as observers is not recommended. There may be exceptions but in most cases, they are not adequately trained or experienced professionally; they lack general maturity and are usually so involved in academic obligations and projects that they are not free to serve when needed. Also it is likely they will not be available throughout the life of an extended program.

Observers, in their work, tend to focus and concentrate upon those aspects and functions of observed phenomena which are characteristically stressed in the discipline in which they have been trained, i.e., psychology, sociology, social work, education, rehabilitation. More attention should be given to the importance of regular feedback from the national research director to project staff regarding reactions to observer reports. The feeling of field personnel is: If the observer function is important and his reports are so regarded then the reaction of headquarters administrative staff to those reports should be reflected back to field personnel.

In those instances where the observer attempted to function solely as a fact-finding research tool without sharing the results of his oqservations with local administrators and professional staff, his reception by the "group" was cool, willingness to cooperate was reduced and, hence, his effectiveness in making observations (and reports) was impaired. Observers want to be accepted group members; they want to perform effectively in duties that they and the group feel are important and contributive to a worthwhile over-all goal. It is very difficult for a competent professional (observer) who wants and needs acceptance to refuse services he is able to provide to another group member who needs and asks for help.

When the observer was inclined to offer his unsolicited advice-recommendations-instruction-counsel, observer-staff relationships worsened.

In none of the FOR projects did the observer function for any length of time solely as an impartial collector and reporter of facts. This was not happenstance or accidental. Rather because of individual or group needs, he made adjustments and adaptations which allowed him to feel accepted and useful. His functions and services varied from project to project, according to needs and this same behavior was observed in each project. In only one project was the function of the observer completely rejected and in that one they were quite successful in using the observer in another very useful capacity.

Did the experience in FOR support a finding that observers serve a useful and needed purpose in a collaborative nationwide research program? Yes — if we think in terms of over-all goals including effectiveness of services as well as effectiveness of research. A qualified no is required, however, if we restrict our attention and evaluation solely to the value of the observer as a "camera-recorder," or objective tool of research. This question was not tested in our FOR experience and, hence, FOR data cannot be used to support either a "yes" or "no."

Although not a declared objective of FOR, one of the most important increments of participation was the growth in professional skills and knowledge on the part of staff members from all disciplines. Interdisciplinary understanding, appreciation and cooperation were outstanding characteristics with far-reaching implications for a combined total attack upon the rehabilitation of public offenders. Sixteen different observers served in FOR. Two were not permitted to serve as observers and so resigned. Of the fourteen who did serve for varying lengths of time, all considered their experience a new and professionally valuable learning opportunity.

EXHIBIT A

January 3, 1966

TO: All FOR Project Observers
Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program

FROM: FOR Program Observer

SUBJECT: Developments in the Functions and Role of the FOR Observer

The Program Director in a separate instruction to all Project Directors dated December 10, 1965 has explained that the Observer is to be considered as an extension of the Research Director and has directed that all Project and Program Observer reports be addressed and sent to the Program Research Director. This memorandum is intended to describe the developing role of the Observer resulting from Executive Committee meetings, discussion with Program Consultants, and from references in publications.

1. It is agreed that while the FOR Observer's functions are similar in many respects to those performed in other agencies, research studies and organizations, there will be some distinctly different duties and responsibilities which will result in a composite position pretty much unique. The two-page description titled "The Role of the Observer in the FOR Program" (dated September 24, 1965 and prepared in this office) has been sent to all Project Directors. It should be available for reference, for it provides some basic ideas and concepts which are to be clarified and expanded in this and subsequent instructions. If not available, please request copies from this office.

2. Several recorded sources of direct and related information about the work of the Observer have been noted. There are undoubtedly many more, and it would be appreciated if FOR staff personnel on all projects (particularly Observers and Consultants) would send us these additional references as they come to your attention. Peter Blau[1] describes his experiences as an Observer from the viewpoint of a research technique or method of gathering information. He places much emphasis upon the principle that informal relations (between workers) influences the performance of duties and hence an understanding of these relations is necessary to an accurate analysis of data collected by whatever means. His observations in this regard led him to some important decisions regarding the process of consultation and the establishment of informal status described by Whyte[2] in "Street Corner Society." Selltiz, Jahoda and others[3] describe in step-by-step detail suggested methods, techniques and procedures to follow in making "structured" research observations. The importance of planning, systematic recording and reporting, and the need for "observation controls" is explained. Both Blau and Selltiz make special reference to the relationship between the Observer and the Observed and the importance attached to the acceptance of the Observer into the working community.

3. The task of deciding upon techniques, methods and procedures of making, recording, analyzing, and reporting of observations is at this time pretty much a matter of individual experience and preference. After a few months' experience and with reports and suggestions coming in from the various projects, some standard, organized and partially structured plan and procedure for making observations will be developed. Our experience here in Seattle (Plans A and C) points toward the values of planning the observations in advance. Items to consider: general and specific purpose of the observation; phenomena to be noted; sample questions to be asked (if any); Observer to participate or not; where should observations take place and under what conditions; how should observations be recorded; what should be done to introduce Observer to the workers, the clients, the supervisors; should observations be made singly or in groups; should observations be double-checked for validity; when, how, and in what format should the report be written; to whom should the report be directed and who should have access to it. We have found it helpful to plan the observations around a particular task (such as completing of questionnaire, the orientation interview, staff meeting, etc.) and to take rather copious rough notes in a small notebook using abbreviations when possible. It was learned that the explanation of the Observer's function needed to be adapted to the personnel concerned, i.e., inmates seemed to understand and accept better when this occurred in a group setting with opportunity for them to observe and secure confirmation or reassurance from other inmates. A special effort was made to check back with several individuals after the period of observation as a means of validating certain facts and feelings. Writing the report from the notes has been accomplished within 24 hours in a place free from interruption. Agreement was made that the report should be addressed to the Research Director, with the Observer retaining a copy. It was decided that only a particular stenographer would be used to type these reports, and the confidential aspect of the report was stressed.

4. Each report sent from the Project Observers to the Research Director should contain or be accompanied by such pertinent identifying data as: names and work titles; addresses of persons observed; brief explanation of the situation, i.e., background and environmental factors; phenomena observed; what happened; to whom, when, where, how? What do you (Observer) think of this? What is happening that you think is significant? What

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[1] Peter Blau, "Sociologists at Work," Basic Books, Inc., New York, London. Chapter Two, page 27.

[2] William F. Whyte, "Street Corner Society," University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1943.

[3] Selltiz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook, "Research Methods in Social Relations," Holt-Rinehart and Winston, Chapter 6.

further observation action do you plan because of this? Following are some phases or aspects of the FOR Program which are considered as important to its progress and suitable for research observations:

Initial Classifications

Questionnaire Completions

Establishment of "Commuting Areas"

Testing

Use of Medical Services

Orientation or Structuring Interview

Establishing Need for Rehabilitation

Use of "Current services" by the Control One and Control Two cases

Identifying and Handling of Functional Illiterates

Closing Out of Cases
- (a) Rehabilitated
- (b) Non-cooperation
- (c) Medically unfeasible
- (d) Transfer or movement to area where service not available
- (e) Recidivism
- (f) Other

Use of Standardized and Other Forms

Public Relations and Publicity

Services Utilized

This includes usual and unusual services; collaborations with other agencies in providing services, i.e., State Employment Service, Veterans Administration, State Department of Public Assistance; use of new procedures as a result of work release; education release legislation, Social Security, etc.

Caseloads

Use of Consultants

Offender Mobility

All Observer reports sent to the Research Director will be in duplicate and are to be mailed as soon as prepared.

5. The Program Executive Committee (with concurrence of the consultants) is agreed that the progress and development of the FOR Program needs to be recorded and maintained in such a manner that it will be of historical value. This is not the progressive statistical growth which can be secured from regular and periodic reports, but rather a collecting, recording, synthesis and interpretation of trends, events, people relations, phenomena, committee meetings, observation reports, news media reports, conferences, legislation, collaborating agency regulations and policies, etc. It has been decided that the Program Observer is in the best position (of current personnel) to perform this function. He will have access to all information available at the Program Director level. It is requested that all Project and Program personnel (and especially Project Observers) be alert to news, events, developments, legislation, publications, trends and other happenings which have a bearing upon the outcome of the FOR Program, and either send the Program Observer the information or a reference which can be investigated.

Part of this special assignment will be the preparation of a monthly FOR Newsletter. This brief resume of current FOR developments, trends, items of personal interest, personnel changes, etc. will be for general distribution. All Program and Project personnel are requested to send news items to the Program Observer, Room 600, Orpheum Building, Seattle, Washington 98101.

CLAUDE C. PANGBORN
Claude C. Pangborn, Observer
Federal Offenders Rehabilitation
Program

CCP: ogw

cc: Project Directors
Program and Project Consultants
Executive Committee Members

EXHIBIT B

FOR OPERATIONS MANUAL (Rev. Sept. 1966)

(4) PROGRAM AND PROJECT OBSERVER

The original Planning Committee of the FOR Research Program conceived and recommended that a new function be recognized by giving official sanction to a professional Observer's role. The need for noting, collecting, reporting and interpreting phenomena (not otherwise systematically or regularly reported yet vital to understanding) has long been recognized. It was decided to center this responsibility and function in the FOR Program upon a role titled "The Observer."

It was clearly recognized that there was insufficient empirical evidence to describe and explain the function of the Observer. One of the secondary goals of the research program was to study emerging roles, one of which was that of the Observer.

It is the function of the Observer, who hopefully would not be too emotionally involved in the success of the service features of the program, to make independent observations of unusual phenomena pertinent to the research study. He is to work very closely with the Research Consultant, and together they share a responsibility for securing and maintaining the integrity of the experimental research design.

Program Observer. The Program Observer has essentially the same relationship (and performs the same functions) to the Research Director and the Program Director as does the Project Observer to the Research Director and the Project Director.

In addition he will have some responsibility for coordinating the work activities of the Project Observers. But this will not be in any sense a line supervisory responsibility.

He will work very closely with the Research Director in the study of all Observer reports, and together with the Program Consultants will decide what matters and recommendations should be brought to the attention of the Program Director. He will be a working member of the Program Executive Committee. He will assist the Research Director, the Program Director, and the Executive Committee in identifying program needs and actions, and especially those actions which request Project Observers to make and report regular and special observations.

He will assist the Research Director and Program Director in the preparation of special reports, news releases, planning of conferences, program histories and related activities.

As directed he may visit the various projects and in coordination with Project Directors, Consultants, and Observers, make observations which will be reported to the Research Director.

Project Observers. As previously stated, the Project Observer is to function primarily as an extension of the Research Director and to share with the Research Consultant the responsibility for securing and maintaining the integrity of the experimental research design. He will observe (study, examine, look, listen, inquire, note, record). He will focus upon the unique variation. This uniqueness and individuality of the client is like that seen by the clinician and opposed to the pattern variation that the researcher perceives through data collection instruments. (This is similar to the remarks by Dr. Saad Nagi at the June, 1966 Conference.) Consequently, he should be aware of research instruments to avoid duplication, although he may detect significant unique variation in response to these instruments. His task is to begin with uniqueness and build toward patterns. It is exploratory. The research focus is on checking patterns which one is reasonably sure exist and comparing patterned changes in the process. For this reason the two functions are necessary complements. Specifically, the Observer should focus on the reactions of all people associated with the project including clients, employers, instructors, and physicians and their interrelationships. He will take special notice of new and unusual services provided "intensive treatment clients" or examples of innovative and imaginative handling and use of resources, techniques or procedures in the process of rehabilitation which includes those provided by probation and parole officers, classification officers and others. What will be observed and reported may be decided at the project level by the Observer with the consent and encouragement of the Project Director and Consultant or by the Observer alone. Occasionally the Research Director and/or the Program Observer may make special requests for observation of particular matters by the Project Observer.

Although the Project Observer is intended to function primarily as an extension of the research phase of the program (reporting directly to the Research Director) it is realized that by the very nature of his observations and his relationship to the Consultant, the Project Director and other project personnel, this narrowly restricted function cannot be maintained. The Project Observer will serve in a limited manner as a counselor to project personnel and as an Observer for the Project Director on all phases of the project. The importance of complete and accurate reporting to the Research Director of all these actions and observations by the Project Observer cannot be over-emphasized.

The matter of reporting is very important, for upon this procedure rests the effectiveness of the Observer to the research aspects of the program. The original and one copy of all observation reports will be made to the Research Director in Seattle. Copies may be provided the Project Director and the Consultant, but these reports are to be written by the Observer to reflect his own observations, opinions and evaluations and are not to be altered or censored in any manner. It is expected that in many instances the Observer will want to discuss these reports with the Consultant and Project Director, and if this occurs the Research Director should be so informed including reactions noted.

No attempt has yet been made to establish a set format, procedure or technique for observing or reporting observations. It is expected that the reports will contain such information as: project name; date of report; date of observations; phenomena observed; setting of the observations (people, place, things, reactions, data, feelings); time factors involved; name of Observer; number of observations; what prompted the observation; what occurred; Where? When? What was the Observer's evaluation or interpretation of the events, results or circumstances? What effect upon research? Recommendations? Are further Observer actions planned or needed?

Report of observations should be prepared as soon as possible and sent to the Research Director.

EXHIBIT C

October 20, 1966

Program and Project Observer

The various agency members of the committee responsible for the initial planning of the FOR Program included the role of the observer. The function of the observer was considered to be twofold. The first was to act as an extension of the Research Director by observing and reporting upon FOR phenomena which was not available through ordinary sources but which might be important in interpreting data. The second was to work in close coordination with the consultants in helping the project directors to maintain the integrity of the research design.

One of the secondary objectives of the FOR Program was to study this comparatively new role in a research-demonstration setting including its development and effects.

Experience since November 1, 1965, has borne out the predictions of the original planning committee that irritating problems would undoubtedly develop in carrying out the functions of the observer. The newness and "unknown" features of the role presents a threatening aspect to workers and especially so in a relatively new growing program where pecking orders are being established. The matter is further complicated by the unusual staff-line relationships of organization control; the sensitivity and emotions attached to the inspector-evaluator facets of the observer role and the manner of reporting. It is beginning to appear that some of these difficulties must be lived with and handled in such a way that the negative effect will be minimized. As an example, it appears unlikely, for the present, that observers will report their findings only to the Research Director. Their various services to the project director, counselors, Probation-Parole Officers, and consultants have proved useful and important and much resistance would be encountered if these services were to be threatened. Some of their new functions, such as serving on committees and acting as resource persons for other staff members, have developed to the point where it begins to assume the status of a "third" function to be added to the two noted in paragraph one.

A great deal of freedom was allowed to observers with regard to what should be observed, have to observe and how to report. As expected this has resulted in a wide variety of methods and techniques. One project has submitted no reports while another has sent in twelve. Some reports are almost entirely factual and brief while some are extensive and subjective. Phenomena observed include such things as staff relationships, commuting areas, committee meetings, questionnaire completion, testing procedures, group counseling, innovative services and communication problems. Most reports are made voluntarily but the Program Executive Committee has approved requests for specific observations on three occasions. Three of the eight projects have made changes in observer personnel since November, 1965. The amount of time spent by observers on the job varies from zero to 5 or 6 days each month.

Several areas of agreement by observers (unsolicited) seem to be emerging which could be significant. (1) There is noted in the reports (both directly and indirectly) a consistently high quality and extent of spirit of cooperation between personnel of all the agencies involved. One report defined it as a "strong desire to have the Project succeed." (2) The problems associated with staff-line relationships effecting observers are not as serious as once believed. (3) There is general assurance that integrity of research design has been maintained. (4) The use of observers as project resource persons introduces the possibility that the observer may become too eager to have the project succeed and thus endanger his objectivity in reporting. This is related to but not directly in opposition to (2) above. (5) Considerable attention has been directed to the relationships developing between VR counselors and Probation-Parole Officers and especially to the effects these professionals are having upon each other. (6) Communication problems (at first considered serious) between organization levels have pretty well been resolved by people with a strong desire to understand and believe. As one observer put it "there is evident in both probation officers and VR counselors, the strong desire and ability to serve the client." This reflects, of course, the thinking and behavior of top management in the agencies. (7) The Seattle June, 1966, Conference was a very important factor in improving understanding and acceptance among all FOR personnel.

Thus far, the value of the observer to the FOR Program varies considerably from project to project and this was expected. As yet, there has not developed any one best method or technique of observation and reporting. It may be that as common problems develop throughout the projects, the Program Director will need to make more specific requests for observations.

CCP: jjk

EXHIBIT D

August 31, 1967

TO: FOR Program Director
FOR Research Director

FROM: Claude C. Pangborn, Program Observer

SUBJECT: Analysis and Summary of Evaluation Reports Concerning the Denver FOR Conference, May 14-17, 1967

As requested, each of the FOR Projects has submitted a report of the reaction of their personnel to the conference. These were secured by means of committee and staff meetings of those who attended the conference and represents a majority of opinion, not a consensus. Also included in this summary are the results of individual reports from Project Observers which were requested separately. No attempt is made to identify reporters but rather to focus on reportings. Your request was to have observations follow the format of (1) positive — favorable reactions, (2) negative — unfavorable reactions, (3) suggestions for future conferences. This report will be presented in the same format.

I believe reporters were very perceptive in the observations. They gave this matter serious consideration and were generally forthright, sincere, and complete in their reporting.

1. General — The conference program was designed to identify, analyze, and develop solutions to different kinds of FOR operating problems. Of the various types of limiting problems indicated, such as coordination of activities, State and Federal regulations, research demands and client-counselor relationships, it was the latter which seemed to be most frequently mentioned. This seemed to be so in the general sessions as well as in the small groups and in individual encounters. The focus of attention in this conference seemed to be moving more toward the importance and the effect of the relationship between the VR counselor and the client. This development was carried beyond the conference also with recommendations that more programming be given in the next conference to activities designed to develop skills, knowledge, understanding of the client-counselor relationship.

   There was general agreement that this was indeed a working shirt-sleeve conference and that the members very quickly worked through the usual preliminaries and got down to business. Also that the program was well planned, but frequently too tightly scheduled so that when something very interesting developed in a presentation the matter or happening could not be pursued to better understanding or satisfaction because of too rigid adherence to a prearranged time schedule.

2. Favorable — There was nearly unanimous approval of the presentations by Dr. John M. MacDonald on Monday and Dr. Mark T. Farrell on Wednesday. The practical application of the research and clinical findings described in these talks was mentioned as valuable. As noted above, there was repeated reference to the importance of psychological factors and individual differences in the rehabilitation of the public offender and the critical significance concerning the quality of the client-counselor relationship. A word of caution was noted in pointing out the danger of seeing in final results what one anticipated in the beginning, e.g., the offender is psychologically ill. The "changing role of the VRC" was noted repeatedly and how not only is the FOR-VRC functioning at a different level from current DVR practices (because of demands and needs) but also how the individual counselor varies in his function from project to project in accordance with individual and project needs. The concept of the counselor as a critical key professional worker seems generally accepted.

   The "real live" demonstration of an Executive Committee Meeting with case staffing (by Atlanta) was considered a highlight. Here was developed the notion of making good use of all available professional resources in the process of rehabilitation. This was considered an innovation and also another example of professionals from various disciplines pooling their skills and knowledge to accomplish a common goal.

   Improved communications, reduction in anxiety, less professional bickering and defensiveness, more friendliness and joking, greater levels of freedom in self-expression, were examples of improved staff relationships up, down, and across the FOR organization. This includes the general reaction of all staff to the Observer and his function. Now he is not seen so much as an "unknown purpose" and a threat, but rather a source of assistance and support. It was noted that the Observer's function, his method of operating, and the functions he performs varies from project to project. Again this seems to be influenced largely by individual differences and project needs. This may not be in strict accord with the research design, but it does provide an example of adaptation to needs.

   It was noted (appreciatively) that much less time was needed for the handling of routine administrative and organization problems. Also that very little criticism was raised about the "demands of research" on the time of professional service workers. There was general approval of the small group sessions and especially the meeting of counterparts.

3. Unfavorable — The principal criticism here was that the time allowed for these meetings was too short and the schedule too inflexible. The schedule was "too tight" resulting in the interruption of meetings that were "interesting and productive".

   Otherwise observations tended generally to be scattered and individualized. Several references were made to the negative or depressive effect upon conferees when informed that the data thus far does not support a finding that intensive cases have significantly less recidivism than controls.

Appreciation was expressed for the demonstrated intent of FOR management to keep workers informed about research developments. But the point was raised also that we should be cautious about making premature tentative interpretations based upon incomplete data. No complaints were made regarding excessive demands of "research" upon service personnel. One group suggested that not enough emphasis was being placed upon "research" both in our conference discussions and in project operations.

4. Suggestions and Recommendations – Schedule more small group meetings at the next conference and allow them more time.

   Provide for more meetings of counterparts. Perhaps have them meet each morning for breakfast or for an hour prior to the opening of the general session. If possible, distribute research data, case histories, background reading material, agendas, etc., in advance of the conference.

   If smaller group meetings are to report back to the general assembly, provide an opportunity for the "reporters" to meet as a group to plan their methods and procedures. This should be done prior to the meetings which are to be observed.

   Keep keynote speeches and introduction of dignitaries to a minimum.

   All PPO and Classification Officers should attend the next conference.

   Program for next conference should provide more time and attention to the client-counselor relationship. Emphasize techniques, procedures, and methods for final project reports covering the entire period. How can FOR results be made useful and available to others in correctional work, i.e., state, county, city agencies, and units? How to establish eligibility for service and the criteria and method for continuing rehabilitation services to "intensives" after FOR benefits cease?

   Hold the next conference in Fall of 1968 rather than the Spring. This would provide a more appropriate time in which to prepare and train for making reports.

   One conferee half jokingly commented: "Working conferences are great but listen, 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. with one night of evening attendance is carrying a good thing too far."

   Allow delegates to be brought together across inter-disciplinary lines and set up on the basis of encounter groups rather than a structured program.

   Provide opportunity for "sensitivity training" of staff and secure a national leader in the field such as Carl Rogers to direct this phase of the program.

CCP: jjk

EXHIBIT E

October 26, 1967

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Leonard Shaw, Project Observer, Seattle FOR Project

FROM: Mr. Percy B. Bell, Project Director, Seattle FOR Project

SUBJECT: Changes in Procedures for Reporting FOR Observations

Effective immediately all Observer reports (both verbal and written) made by you in connection with the Seattle FOR Project will be made only to the FOR Research Director. The Research Director will inform you of phenomena to be observed but you will, of course, be encouraged to make other observations of your own choosing.

The Research Director will decide to what extent and in what manner this information will be shared with others.

Percy B. Bell, Project Director

cc: Executive Committee Members

EXHIBIT F

May 25, 1966

TO: All Project Directors

Atlanta, Chicago, Denver, Pittsburgh, San Antonio, Seattle, Springfield, Tampa

FROM: Percy B. Bell

SUBJECT: Observer Reports

This is to confirm information I provided some of you over the telephone and to give this information to all so that all observers may be working on the same instructions.

The question has been raised a number of times as to just how the Observer will make his reports to the Research Director. It is contemplated that since the observer is considered to be an arm of the Research Director at each of the projects, he will make his report directly to the Research Director. There is no objection to his providing copies of this report directly to the Project Director, but he is not required to do so.

The question has also been raised as to the responsibility the Project Director has in seeing that the Observer does an appropriate job of work. The only responsibility of the Project Director in this regard is for him to make inquiries to see if the Observer has made reports to the Research Director as required.

PERCY B. BELL
Director

PBB: bah

EXHIBIT G

Project Observation Report No. 29

DATE: October 6, 1967

PLACE: Office of Chief U. S. Probation Officer

SESSION OBSERVED: The regular executive committee meeting

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MEETING: Those present were the Chief U. S. Probation Officer; Consulting Psychiatrist; Associate Warden of the Federal Prison; Chief of Classification and Parole, Federal Prison; Project Director; two Project Counselors; Project Observer; Supervising Probation Officer; and Psychological Consultant.

This meeting was begun shortly after nine and continued until twelve-thirty. No cases were staffed in this session. The tone of the meeting was entirely that of a business session, following an agenda which included a large number of items for discussion.

REPORT: All the items discussed in the meeting will not be reported. Some of the significant comments will be recorded.

There was a lengthy discussion of the suggested form letter received from Mrs. Matthews which is to be sent to all the Control II clients. The response to the letter was negative, since it sounded so much like a "come-on" for the purpose of selling an idea. Too many letters of the same type had been received by the members of the executive committee. The members of the group were aware that the approach to the C-2 clients was extremely important if a significant number of them were to be encouraged to respond. A committee was appointed to work out the approach to the C-2 clients. Members of this committee are Plan A Counselor, Sociological Consultant and Supervising Probation Officer. The committee was authorized to act, making contact with C-2 clients.

The project director announced that Mr. Bell had written to the State Superintendent of Schools recommending that he be named project director. The project director stated that if he were not named director he would suggest that another party be appointed to that position.

The date of November 29, at 1:30-2:30 P.M., was set as the time for the executive committee to meet with Mr. Bell in connection with his visit to this area. The time for the next regular meeting was discussed in connection with Mr. Bell's visit. The next regular meeting was set for November 15. The members of the committee pledged themselves to spend much of the time at that meeting on staffing cases. The meeting is to take place at the Federal Penitentiary.

Plans were made for collecting comments from consultants which would be put together by the Plan C counselor into a progress report. The report is being compiled in connection with securing the grant for the last year of the research project.

There was considerable discussion of the question from Mr. Bell's letter concerning what should be placed in current services that is presently included in research services. Seven items were suggested, as follows: (1) manageable caseloads for counselors; (2) permission to work with the families of clients as well as the client himself; (3) provision for emergency funds to serve the clients when needed, without red tape and delay; (4) changes in regulations so that work can be done with prisoners while in prison, whether or not they are residents of this state. (This question brought up the extremely important but complex problem of transfer across state lines. The necessity for every prisoner to receive training in prison was seen as an important aspect for current services.); (5) provision of group therapy with the authorization to pay the going rate for therapy fees; (6) continuation and improvement of an inter-agency approach to the prisoners' needs which would involve the Bureau of Prisons, the Probation Office and the VR specialists; (7) continuation of the services of specialists other than those employed in the bureaus mentioned above, so that the benefits of the insights of a number of points of view could be incorporated in the total approach to rehabilitation.

Sub-project C was discussed with the understanding that it is approved, subject to Mr. Bell's final approval.

The first session of the Plan A therapy group, which had been held the preceding week, was discussed. Fourteen people were present for this first therapy session. Those involved in the first session were optimistic about the future though aware that the therapy group was not yet an established fact. They were anxious to see how many would be present for the second session the following Wednesday (see Observation Report No. 30).

A significant difference of opinion became apparent in the discussion of the Plan A therapy. The Plan A counselor expressed his belief that one of his clients who had a conflict between night school and the therapy session should continue with his school program. The psychological consultant disagreed, stating that the benefits derived from the therapy, which would not always be available to the client, would no doubt help him take greater advantage of his schooling. The significant fact behind this discussion is the relative merits of the therapy session, as seen by the Plan A counselor and psychological consultant.

In connection with the therapy sessions the question arose of the advisability of compensating the FOR counselors for time at such therapy sessions when they have put in a regular, office-hour day prior to the night session. A long discussion followed about this matter, which was seen by the members of the committee as a very important point in the whole matter of counselors and their effectiveness. The thinking of the group is that the counselors, beginning immediately, should be given compensatory time for time spent with clients, whether in therapy sessions or not, during non-office hours. The reasons for this are: (1) the procedure is simply a fair employment practice; (2) a counselor who is being legitimately paid for time spent on the job, regardless of the time of day or night, is better able to give himself to the client without a feeling of imposition and therefore will do a better job for the client.

The question was raised as to whether compensatory time is the best procedure for taking care of work beyond regular office hours. Doubts were raised because of the fact that most counselors are already overworked and cannot actually find time during office hours to be away from the heavy demands of their work. The two counselors were asked to keep a record of time spent on the job over and above office hours and also of the amount of compensatory time they have been able to take. The members of the executive committee plan to evaluate this whole question at the end of the research project with the intention of making recommendations, one of which may well be the suggestion that counselors be paid overtime, since they already have more work than they can do and a conscientious counselor would have difficulty in taking time off during office hours.

The advisability of inviting other people to the executive meeting was discussed. The role of the executive committee of this project has been a creative one throughout its existence. One important function of the committee that is emerging is that of building lines of communication with agencies and officials who are involved with rehabilitation of federal offenders and who are not officially represented on the executive committee. The consensus of the members of the committee was that a number of people representing various agencies should be invited to future meetings (this procedure has been in effect all along but is to be enlarged upon in the future).

In view of this increased emphasis the executive committee will serve in the future not only as the group giving direction to the specific research project but as a means of communication among the large number of agencies which are in a position to be of help to the rehabilitation program.

Project Observer Report No. 4

September 13, 1967

It has been of significant interest to this observer to note the gradual, though quite perceptible modification of attitudes on the part of both the counselor and the caseworker towards their work with the narcotic addicts on the intensive caseload during the past six months. At the time this observer assumed this responsibility with the project in February, the full impact of the high percentage of narcotic violators was just being realized. (This impact is the subject of a separate report.)

The period of February through April was characterized by the former attitude, which was one of dogged perseverance in their efforts to involve the clients in agency services and participation in the research project. In the face of a great deal of resistance to keeping even the first appointment, various devices were instituted to urge, or even lure, the potential client to the agency. It was noted that a high percentage of these resistive clients were Mexican-Americans of low economic and educational status, parolees rather than probationers, and many with a background of narcotic violations. It was not until the advent of the counselor-aide (caseworker) that much success was obtained in involving these "hard-core" clients. In most cases the initial contact was in the client's home. Frequently it took several home contacts to get the client to the agency for the first time. In a great number of cases the client-agency relationship was characterized by broken appointments, little client involvement in the rehabilitation process, unfinished training programs, and, with the former addicts, the almost inevitable return to the use of drugs. Many of these addicts would come to the office while under the influence of drugs. They were enrolled in training programs that they could not complete, referred to jobs they could not keep, and throughout, there was a constant pleading, cajoling, and offers of increased agency services if they would voluntarily submit to hospitalization for treatment of their addiction. There was never a thought of giving up as long as the client could be reached, even though it might be only by telephone or through home visits. What was actually happening was that the agency was actually catering to the dependency needs of a very dependent type of individual, and they, in turn, were "using" the agency to lend some air of respectability to a life that, of necessity, had to be characterized by criminal activity, since that was the only way they could support their drug habit. Many of the clients who were finally induced, coerced, or convinced to seek hospitalization were found to be leaving the hospital against medical advice, or, if they were actually released by the hospital, they were returning to the use of drugs in a short time.

In May and June there came a realization, slowly and somewhat painfully, of the futility of these efforts. For a short time there was a danger of an over-reaction to the previous frustrating experience when a policy was proposed to deny any agency service to any known narcotic user, unless and until he submitted to medical treatment for his addiction. The proposal was to apply this policy universally, without regard to the *degree* of addiction, if indeed there was an actual addiction to the drug that the individual was using.

A more realistic and practical attitude has emerged in the past two months. This attitude reflects a commitment to the realization that not all drug users are addicts, and that some of these individuals can be helped to give up the practice of narcotic use through local resources. Admittedly this is a difficult line to draw, and for the most part, hospitalization is the only practical answer. This new attitude, however, also reflects the realistic conclusion that Vocational Rehabilitation services cannot be offered or used effectively with an actual narcotic addict unless his addiction is treated first.

There are still many problems inherent in current concepts and practices in the treatment of the narcotic addict that give rise to some concern whether the drug addict will ever be brought within the purview of Vocational Rehabilitation services with some hope of successful rehabilitation. In the meantime, what effect a reduction in the application of agency services to these individuals will have on the over-all research project remains to be seen. Perhaps the fact that the counselor and the caseworker will be able to devote more time to those clients who offer a higher expectancy of success will result in a positive rather than a negative effect.

Project Observation Report
San Antonio Conference

DATE: Oct. 9, 1968

From the reports given at the Conference and from informal discussions with Conference participants, I hear the following things being emphasized in working with parolees:

1. Good intentions on the part of the client are not enough.

2. The client's environment is a crucial factor whether he is in or out of prison.

3. A job change or change in status on the part of the client is not enough, his attitude also must change.

4. Understanding the client is very important, and the client understanding himself is very important.

From my perspective, these things are important but only half the problem, or half the work to be done. Understanding is not the key. Understanding is a "head thing." Dealing with emotions is the key to changing attitudes. Until the client can recognize, respect, and be honest about his emotions, we aren't going to be able to do much about changing his attitudes.

Now I'd like to deal with something that from the beginning of contact with this project I feel has been the most neglected focus. All the above points that we are so ready to discuss in terms of the client should be looked at most crucially in terms of the staf.

Good intentions on the part of the staff to rehabilitate clients is not enough.

The staff environment is very important, too. Are we asking the counselor to provide a growth environment for the client while we provide a growth-inhibiting environment for the counselor?

A change in job or job status for the rehabilitation counselors and probation officers is not enough. Frequently attitudes also need to change.

Understanding the problem is only about ten percent of the battle. Until the staff can recognize, respect, and be honest about their own emotions regarding clients, co-workers, supervisors, administrators, consultants, etc., we will not have the kind of environment that will allow the staff to grow in a way that will facilitate the staff being a more effective tool for the growth of the clients.

We have had successes in this project in spite of the above limitations. This is due mainly to the fact that some of the counselors have worked persistently and with immediacy and have shown themselves to be human beings who give a damn. The actions of the counselors and the material things they have been able to provide are what have made this project go. I think it could have gone even further if the entire staf had attempted to work with the factors brought out in this report.

October 10, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: Merlyn Matthews

FROM: Project Observer

RE: OBSERVER REPORT — Group Therapy Conducted by Project Counselor

I think this group or any group would be more effective if it started when the guys were still in prison, and it was part of a program that they voluntarily joined. They could be encouraged to join by letting them out of prison a little earlier if they wanted to join this particular program. I think it would also be more effective if wives, parents, siblings, offsprings, and significant others like girl friends, were encouraged to participate in the group program when the guy was still in prison.

As a group, parolees are more scared of looking at themselves than just about anybody I've come in contact with (except the agencies that work with them). Attendance is a problem in the group and the group was finally abandoned because it got so low in attendance. I think their fear of looking at themselves and their fear of closeness had a lot to do with the attendance problems.

During the sessions it was difficult (for the above reasons again) to focus on any emotion that group members have. In spite of this focus, it was rather successful at times.

Roommates, wives, girl friends, and other friends came with the parolees at times, and it was frequently a significant experience for these people. Sometimes they would continue coming even when the parolee dropped out of the group or dropped out of town.

I think group members have the feeling that they could come to group and be with people who cared about them, and this was quite important. Also I had the impression that sometimes they would come because it was a place to go, or they would come because that's when they would get their check. I'm not knocking those reasons because these guys have such a marginal motivation sometimes that we're lucky to get them there for any reasons.

Some of them would be very dubious and defensive when they first attended group and then gradually let themselves become more involved.

The counselor comes on in a blunt, straight, human fashion and I think that had a lot to do with the success of the group. If you put the average analytically oriented non-directive group therapist in that group, I think it would fall on its face.

Observer's Report No. 21

DATE: March 14, 1968

The purpose of this report is to record the work of the social group work consultant to the FOR project. It will be recalled that a previous observer's report detailed the interest FOR staff had in considering a group treatment program for intensive FOR project clients and mentioned that we were in the process of searching for a qualified consultant.

The Social Group Work Consultant:

Through the Chairman of the Group Work Sequence at the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago, the services of a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Chicago, who is working under the Chairman, were obtained. He was highly recommended to the FOR project staff, and it is my observation that this gifted and sensitive young man performed a very valuable service for the project staff in pointing the way toward productive use of groups to serve intensive clients.

He has had considerable experience as a social group worker in the Jewish Community Centers and has served as a group work consultant to several mental hospitals in the area. He is group work consultant for a well-established home for the aged, as well as the Youth Commission, where he has assisted the commission staff to establish group treatment programs in one of its treatment centers for delinquent youth.

In my opinion, he accomplished a great deal in a short span of time, and it seems clear that our project staff benefited from his prior consultative experience. He knew how to go about organizing his task so as to get the data he needed in order to make his recommendations.

The Report And Recommendations:

Attached is his report to the project director. I think it speaks for itself and rather than summarize it, I believe it is more to the point to attach it to this observer's report.

Subsequent Developments:

With his assistance, we have succeeded in recruiting a group leader for Group I—a group to offer support and education around home management, child rearing, and other problems of daily living. The leader to this group will be a part-time faculty field instructor in social group work at the University School of Social Service Administration. She has had prior experience in group work in several well-programmed social agencies. She is currently engaged in two tasks:

(1) Interviewing prospective members of Group I to interpret the operation to them and to determine their interest in participation. With the help of the P/PO's and VRC, she expects to have to help motivate several of these prospective group members to participate.

(2) Since it has been determined that this group will meet outside of the probation office, it is her task to locate a facility. Most of the prospective members of Group I live in the same general area of the city. Thus, she hopes to locate a meeting facility in a community-based agency (probably a neighborhood center or settlement house) which will offer other opportunities for socializing and for program participation should group members wish to avail themselves of the opportunity to participate.

At the present time we are still trying to locate an experienced, skilled leader for Group II. We hope to recruit a Negro man for the leader, and while we have a couple of interested prospects, we have been unable to work out anything definite at this writing.

Other Observations:

It is interesting to note that Group I is composed of clients from one probation officer's caseload and Group II is composed mostly of clients from another probation officer's caseload. In looking at the questions of who might participate in what kind of a group, the major differences between these caseloads were pointed up dramatically. In general the description of the two groups describe the differences between these caseloads. One caseload consists of a large proportion of Negro clients who have backgrounds of cultural and environmental deprivation and who are not "hard core" offenders in the sense that criminal activity is a "way of life." On the other hand the other caseload has a large proportion of white clients, who tend to be much more psychologically disturbed and emotionally deprived and the P/PO has a relatively large number of tough "hard core" female offenders in her caseload.

The reasons for this are simple: one owns a car and uses it to see clients; the other does not own a car and does not drive. Thus, when new clients come into the office for the first time, the front desk assigns clients living nearer the central downtown district and near lines of public transportation to the one without a car. These cases tend to be the Negro clients with cultural and environmental problems. The one who owns a car, on the other hand, is assigned the client living on the fringes of the city and in the suburbs, including communities on the fringes of the geographic area served by the FOR Project. These clients tend to be white and to have many more emotional and psychological problems.

Obviously, the above is somewhat oversimplifed and is only intended as a general statement of the difference in the two P/PO's caseloads. Nevertheless, it is something to keep in mind as the data from the FOR project undergoes research analysis.

REPORT
OF SOCIAL GROUP WORK CONSULTANT
to
Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Project

February 5, 1968

TO: Project Director

FROM: Consultant

The following report will summarize the consultation service offered to the project between January 9, 1968 and February 5, 1968.

The consultant held five morning consultation sessions with staff at the project office. The first meeting with the project director, the project observer and counselor involved a discussion of these experimental programs, an examination of possible foci for group treatment (psycho-therapy, socialization, homemaking, etc.). At the conclusion of this meeting, it was determined that there was potential for developing a group program for women in need of help with family and homemaking problems, and in need also of opportunity to make friends and enrich their social contacts.

He then held two meetings with each of the department female probation officers and counselor, going over each of their clients in the experimental group to determine the clients' possible appropriateness, need and availability for membership in their group. A list was developed of about twelve women who were seen by the workers and the consultant as meeting the criteria for membership in the group:

1. Serious family or home management problem
2. Loneliness and isolation from satisfying social and emotional relationships
3. Physical (geographic) proximity to a meeting site and personal time schedule which would not make the group meetings an added burden
4. Presence of sufficient motivation to attend group meetings voluntarily.

Two more meetings were held with the probation staff to review those women who failed to meet the criteria for the proposed group, with a purpose of determining if there existed sufficient commonalities for the formulation of a second group. This review led to the development of a list of eight women who met the following criteria:

1. More serious offenses and greater potential for recidivism
2. Greater competence (several are currently successfully employed) more intelligence and less social isolation
3. Marginally motivated but potentially able to use a group where individual contacts have been limited,
4. Employed near the loop or able to travel to a central loop location.

The remaining clients were not selected on the basis of their unavailability or firm predictions by the probation officer of their inability to come to or use the group.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Group I

This group is to offer support and education around home management, child rearing and other problems of daily living. In addition, it is to provide opportunities for developing friendships and scheduled program activities can serve to offer a "club-like" feeling of socialization and pleasure.

A. Group should meet in a local community setting. Since most of the women live in ---------, the -------- Community House of --------, the -------- YWCA or The -------- Organization ought to be explored as possible sites where the project can purchase service. This would offer an entree for the women to be able to become part of the ongoing center program.

B. A group work faculty member of the University School of Social Service Administration is available and recommended to serve as group leader. It would be up to her to secure the meeting site, determine meeting times and hold intake conferences with the clients available in the pre-selected pool.

C. Since all of the clients in Group I are in -------- caseload, since there is need and merit in maintaining an administrative link to the probation office, and since she is interested and available, it is recommended that she serve as a co-leader of this group.

D. Invitation and/or recommendation to clients to join the group should be made by the probation officer, followed by individual intake interview with the group leader. Decision to join should be the client's. While membership is voluntary, the group leader will later need to determine with the members attendance requirements. There may be several (number unpredictable) clients who will refuse to join and the group may begin with a number less than the original twelve. If there is a minimum of 4-5 willing and able clients, this would be sufficient to form a viable group.

E. In addition to services and facilities available in the host agency, budget should be made available for the group to engage in periodic social events — trips, movies, dinners, etc. While participation in such fees and expenses should be expected of the group members, the availability of resources may insure the provision of greater socializing opportunities.

Group II

This group should offer greater attention to social and emotional problems of the members. The possible members of this group may be more able and ready to use the group to examine behavior more closely, and to look at underlying motivation and feelings while still focusing on problems of everyday living. Socialization and fun can be a feature of this group, but less emphasized than in Group I.

A. This group would meet in a downtown locale and might include a late afternoon supper (provided by the project) followed by the meeting.

B. A male group leader may be able to offer certain supports and opportunities to this group and several names have been suggested to the project observer.

C. The counselor has indicated interest in serving as a co-leader and could serve as the administrative link to the probation office.

D. The same procedure as with Group I should be followed for referral and intake.

E. Since several of the clients being considered for this group lack motivation for using project service and may offer resistance to joining, the group leader and other staff may need to meet and discuss further means for insuring attendance. Some possibilities are (1) providing supper, (2) providing bus fare or transportation, (3) convenient loop location, (4) scheduling group meetings to coincide with meeting with officer, (5) counting meeting as a required probation visit.

F. Of the current and potential clients for this group, several may refuse or be unable to attend. A group as small as 3-4 would be sufficient to justify establishing the group.

All subsequent decisions about the starting and carrying out of these proposed groups should be made by the group leaders in consultation with the probation staff. The consultant's role ends with these recommendations.

I have enjoyed working with your staff on this project; I hope I have been of service and wish you well on this new venture.

EXHIBIT H

October 4, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: All Project Observers

FROM: Program Observer

I. It has become increasingly clear that in providing rehabilitation for the federal offender, the effectiveness of the program is directly and critically related to the use of "intensive" services.

Reports, observations, and experiences from the various projects reveal a persistent and serious concern in selecting, securing approval, and putting into use innovative plans, services, and supplies designed to most effectively meet the individual needs of our clients. It has been decided by the FOR Executive Committee that special attention needs to be focused upon this matter of innovation in providing intensive services and that the project observers are in a good position to help.

As soon as possible each project observer will investigate this matter of "innovation" in providing intensive rehabilitation services as it is being practiced in the FOR project. A report will be made to the program research director in Seattle at the earliest practical date.

In making these observations, not only will we be able to collect, evaluate, and publicize information of value to all projects, but in the process of observing and investigating this matter the attention of all staff personnel will be directed specifically to constructive and imaginative methods and innovative ideas of intensive services.

II. It is expected that all key staff involved in the project such as probation officers, consultants, VR counselors, project directors, VR case work supervisors, and chief classification and parole officers will be considered as resource people for interviews. Reading of case files may also be utilized as a resource.

Items and questions such as (but not limited to) the following will be explored:

1. Examples of "client needs" which present special problems difficult to satisfy or resolve by services available through our program.
2. To what extent does state law or regulations limit the use of innovative services?
3. To what extent does established practices, customs, and beliefs (which are not contrary to law or regulation) limit the use of innovative services?
4. To what extent are group or committee meetings used for the purpose of case discussion in an effort to secure suggestions, ideas, recommendations for case actions?
5. To what extent does the VR Counselor discuss individual cases with the following personnel:

   Other counselors; consultants such as psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists, medical specialists, legal specialists, social workers, classification officers, probation officers, project directors.
6. Secure examples of obstacles inhibiting or limiting "innovative" services.
7. Examples of innovative services accomplished or used. These may be a new or different service or variety of services or an unusual or effective method of providing the services. This information can be very briefly stated and if more detail is needed, it will be requested.

III. A target date for all reports has been set as November 10, 1966.

C. C. PANGBORN
C. C. Pangborn
Program Observer

CCP: jjk

cc: Project Directors
Program and Project Consultants
Executive Committee Members

STATE BOARD FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
Division of Vocational Rehabilitation

FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

Date: January 12, 1967

TO: FOR Program Director and Research Director

FROM: Program Observer

SUBJECT: Results of Special Observations Concerning Innovative Services

I. Reference is made to my October 4, 1966 memorandum explaining the need for an all-project survey of innovative services and requesting each project observer to make and report upon such a survey at an early date. All projects have now reported and their reports have been studied and discussed by the members of the executive committee. This memorandum will review and summarize the results of the survey in a more or less narrative fashion since the data does not lend itself well to statistical reporting. The reports varied in length from a single page to a series of reports on separate topics from one project (for a total of 16 pages).

II. There were several questions posed to serve as a nucleus, but other information was encouraged. The questions were designed to focus attention upon:

1. Client needs.
2. Factors or circumstances or characteristics which inhibit or limit or interfere with the use of innovative services.
3. Remedial or preventive actions or circumstances to correct, improve circumstances, or enhance the use of innovative services.
4. Examples of innovative services.

Additional information secured included a series of general questions and recommendations.

III. Not all were in agreement in the precise definition of "innovative services", but the consensus seemed to be "making the fullest and best use of available resources in promoting the effective rehabilitation of the client." This meant skill in identifying client needs, knowledge of resources, and then adapting one to the other. Emphasis was placed upon recognizing that not only originality or uniqueness was involved, but also the imaginative use of traditional practices and techniques in a variety of ways. An example of this was the repeated reference to the persistence of the VR counselor in repeatedly making his services available to the client; the amount of time devoted to individual counseling; and the reluctance of the VR counselor to "give up" and status a case "non-feasible for rehabilitation". One observer designed and used a two-part definition as follows:

1. Those things that could not be done for whatever reason, if the client were receiving current (i.e. standard) services.
2. Imaginative service that technically could be done with clients receiving current services, but probably would not be done because such services require inordinately great amounts of time and could not be managed by a counselor carrying the large case loads usual in most departments.

IV. Client Needs

Numerous references (direct and indirect) were made to such material things as need for a job; for a place to live; for money for clothing; for an automobile. Several placed special emphasis upon such things as somebody to accept and understand the client. Almost all were in agreement that the need to be with his "family" was important to most offenders, and indicated that the effectiveness of rehabilitation was closely tied in with family identification and welfare. One Observer used the term "instant service" and explained that many of the offenders had low frustration points and were prone to be impulsive; in need of immediate and demonstrated reassurance; hence, the VR counselor needed to be able to act quickly and effectively in selecting and applying services. This freedom of action includes also the use of what was variously referred to as a "petty cash" or emergency maintenance fund available to the VR counselor for immediate use by him for such things as food, transportation, lodging for client and family.

V. Limiting, Handicapping or Restricting Factors Effecting Use of Innovative Services

These were divided into several categories, including state regulations and practices, client attitudes and behavior, and staff limitations. Frequently mentioned was the negative, hostile, suspicious, and uncooperative attitude of the client who sometimes refused to participate in any degree, but more frequently was late or cancelled appointments; was passively resistant in such things as questionnaire completion and the taking of standardized tests. Lack of funds for compensating loss of work time was mentioned and difficulty in arranging appointments because of travel distance was a problem to some.

In only one project was the VR counselor limited to using only those services already approved for regular (current) state DVR usage. Several observers mentioned policies and practices of state DVR. One noted that recently state regulations have been liberalized, but long established habits of compliance makes "selling" of innovations necessary. Several observers noted that in some instances "key" personnel who had to approve or disapprove "plans" were often unavailable or poorly informed regarding FOR. In some cases "plan-approving" officials refused to concur on use of funds for such things as family travel, consulting services, clothing, equipment payment for licenses or limiting use of such funds. In one instance state licensing boards were prevented from licensing sex offenders, narcotic addicts, alcoholics, etc. Several references were made to the excessive amount of time required to process for approval, such things as plans for services, supplies, maintenance, and transportation.

VI. Innovative "Services" and "Practices" in the FOR Program

All projects reported on one and/or the other with much duplication and overlapping. A wide range of services were rendered. Some things such as the unusual persistence and determination of the VR counselor in attempting to get clients interested in and continuing to perform satisfactorily in the program was common to all. In some cases this meant continuing services to a client during incarceration following recidivism.

Following is a brief listing of various practices and services:

1. Use of community resources such as state and local public assistance, state employment service offices, training and education benefits through Veterans Administration, Travelers Aide, Salvation Army, Youth Opportunity Centers, Halfway House, Bureau of Prison Employment Specialist.

2. Staffing all cases or "problem cases" with the local executive committee which includes consultants, observer, P/P officers, classification officer, and project director.

3. Use of a clergyman as a counselor; talking over cases with other counselors and rehabilitation specialists, social workers, and with the project director. Use of a psychiatrist as a consultant (on a fee basis) with the VR counselor (usually by means of telephone).

4. Use of social and work adjustment as a rehabilitation objective. This is considered a very realistic goal to be used prior to a more extensive educational or vocational goal and also for those who appear to be employed or employable in a suitable occupation. Usually extensive counseling and guidance service is accomplished.

5. Payment of transportation costs for a client to and from his work during an initial period prior to his receipt of salary.

6. Securing funds (from State Public Assistance Department) for Christmas gifts for clients' children. Also clothing and medical care for children.

7. Providing counseling services for a close relative of the client who was distressed and whose condition had strong adverse effect upon client.

8. Increased maintenance payment to a client when uninsured household furniture and goods destroyed by fire (for purpose of liquidating a debt on the goods).

9. Maintenance payments for a client employed by day and attending night classes (where income is not sufficient to support family).

10. Use of a diagnostic plan to provide maintenance and support for a client recently released from prison, but too ill (temporarily) to work or enter training.

11. Group Therapy: Used in several projects all involving federal offenders and FOR staff. Use of consultants or a group leader (fee basis).

12. Counselor-Aide: Employed on a full-time basis in one project and under consideration in several. Duties include locating and contacting hard-to-find clients; explaining the FOR program; motivating clients; administering tests and questionnaires. Works under supervision of the VR counselor.

13. Use of a special service on a fee basis (collection agency, credit bureau, private detective agency) to locate hard-to-find clients.

14. Psychiatric screening (evaluation) of all clients (wives also when indicated) to more effectively identify individual needs, limitations, and resources.

15. Use of a sentence completion test and projective drawings as a screening device to measure individual personality dynamics characteristics, and resources.

16. Use of general education development prognosis (such as pre-high school, high school, adult extension classes) even when client appears to be suitably employed.

17. Reimbursing client for work time lost by reason of FOR activities such as counseling, testing, questionnaire completion. Also paying for transportation expenses for client in these circumstances.

18. Renting classroom space for group training of FOR clients; paying for instruction fees.

19. Planned: A one-day, one-evening conference at a resort-motel. All clients to be invited and to be attended also by all project staff members including consultants, P/P officers, observer, VR counselor, project director. A free-wheeling forthright presentation and discussion of FOR Program aims, objectives, policies, methods, problems, benefits, and limitations.

20. Securing services of a legal consultant (attorney) available to VR counselor (on a fee basis) for legal advice on any client.

21. Work-education release program in cooperation with federal penitentiary and county jail.

22. Payment of air travel expenses (within the U.S.) for wife of a client so that she could be present to meet her husband upon his release from prison. The project executive committee studied the need for such service and decided it was vital to the rehabilitation plan.

23. A. Project observer meets with all available intensive clients about to be terminated from active caseloads of the project. The purpose is to get their perception of the project, its goals, policies, procedures, available services, criticisms, evaluation of effectiveness, etc.

    B. Another project has decided to do a similar survey of all "intensive" clients now in the project.

24. Providing marriage counseling (client and wife) on a fee basis.

25. Use of a "halfway house" in cooperation and coordination with regular DVR clients.

VII. Suggestions – Recommendations and General Comments from the Projects

1. Develop and establish a "working definition" of innovative services (as it applies to FOR).
2. Establish and clarify at top level management and then delegate specific authority to FOR projects to provide services to "intensive" clients which are not authorized under "regular" or "current" DVR services.
3. Improve understanding of FOR by all supervisory and management level personnel (in all agencies) who have any authority over FOR policies and operating procedures. Closely related to this was the wish that communications between levels of supervision and between workers of the same general level would improve.
4. Frequent reference was made to the importance of the "family" as a valuable resource in effecting rehabilitation with the hopes that rules and regulations can be altered or amended in such a way that "services" to key family members may be provided.
5. With regard to finances and the use of monies there was frequent support for not only a greater degree of freedom in approval of a variety of services, but also in the need for "speeding up" the process for securing needed funds. The notion of an "emergency" fund immediately available to a VR counselor was offered as a valuable rehabilitation tool.
6. Service considered innovative in one locality may be a commonplace function in another. What is routine in one project may have significant innovative strength in another.
7. Securing the most complete and accurate knowledge of the client's individual needs is the first step. Knowing the resources available in the community is a second step. Helping the client understand, accept, and utilize the rehabilitation services best fitted in his needs is a third step.

VIII. Summary

Although there were many different problems, handicaps, resources, examples of innovations, and suggested solutions presented in this study, there were three broad areas of special significance which seemed to be evolving:

1. Among FOR personnel there has been generated and sustained a high level of interest in the program, a strong belief in the value of the research study and a desire to see it succeed.
2. There is an almost unanimous agreement that the testing of the effects of intensive rehabilitation services upon the correctional process cannot be accomplished unless the VR counselor is permitted a great degree of freedom in applying a variety of services. Very closely related to this is the critical importance of having available an "emergency fund" for immediate use of the VR Counselor.
3. There is evident, a feeling that supervisors at all levels (who are in a position to restrict or promote FOR policies and practices) need to be better informed about the program. Also that these people be more effective in their communications with each other regarding FOR.

Claude C. Pangborn
Program Observer

EXHIBIT I

October 18, 1967

MEMORANDUM

TO: All Project Observers

FROM: Claude C. Pangborn, Program Observer

When the observer's functions were being planned it was considered best to encourage each project to decide for itself (for the most part) what phenomena would be studied and observed. Also to be encouraged and promoted was freedom of choice in methods and techniques of observation, observer duties and responsibilities and manner of both verbal and written reporting. As expected such a policy has resulted in a great diversity of methods and procedures. The results vary considerably between the projects as to what is observed, what is emphasized, frequency of observations, frequency of reporting and form of reporting. This was anticipated and probably points up (among other things) that such results are a function of individual circumstances and needs of a particular project. The program executive committee (including the consultants) have been following and discussing the developments of the observer role. It is the consensus of the executive committee that it is now time to develop and utilize a more structured format for reporting purposes and to decide upon some common phenomena which could be examined by all observers.

Please consider carefully the matters noted in A and B below and send me your suggestions as soon as possible. These recommendations are to be based primarily upon the value or usefulness of the results to the research function of FOR. If you wish to assign rank order of importance to A, please do so.

A. What to Observe

During the remainder of the research study what areas, functions, behavior, characteristics, questions, problems, relationships, attitudes bearing upon the FOR program should the project observers study, observe, and report upon? Please list six questions that you consider the observers should attempt to answer.

B. Reporting

How frequently should written observation reports be made to the program research director?

What format or structuring do you suggest for these reports?

This request is being sent only to observers. Please reply as soon as possible and not later than October 31.

Claude C. Pangborn, Observer
Federal Offenders
Rehabilitation Program

CCP: jjk

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900 Homewood Court
Decatur, Georgia
October 30, 1967

Mr. Claude C. Pangborn
P. O. Box 3126
Seattle, Washington

Dear Mr. Pangborn:

Your request for suggestions from all of the observers concerning the role of the observer seems to me to be a most appropriate approach to the need for defining the role of and developing the most efficient use of the observer function within research projects such as this one.

Under Section A in your letter of October 18 you ask what the functions of the observer should be. One of the significant functions of the observer is the recording, as objectively as possible, of a broad range of happenings at the time they are taking place. This technique is used by anthropologists in studying cultures other than their own. The advantage of this approach is that they record everything possible, whether or not it seems significant at the time. If they had the gift of hindsight at any given moment they might be able to eliminate certain items, but to attempt to distinguish between important and unimportant events at the time they occur is premature and risks the loss of material that may later prove to be significant. I am aware that I have not observed certain facets of the total research project in Atlanta (such as consistent contact with the clients, allowing them to state how they feel, see and respond to the whole research effort and the world in which they are living), but this has been due to a lack of time, rather than to a decision as to what is or is not important.

This type of anthropological data-collecting serves two purposes in this research, as I see it. First, it provides the best method of being the eyes and ears in a local situation for the research planners in Seattle. Second, this type of data-reporting provides reasonably objective descriptions which are helpful in interpreting the meaning of statistical data at the end of the research project.

This type of observation, covering a broad range of items, is not without system and perspective. In order to be able to observe with the greatest amount of perception I have developed in my mind certain skeleton outlines that have guided me in my work in Atlanta. The basic point of this outline has been the concern with whether the phenomenon under observation adds to or detracts from services to clients. When observing the executive committee, for example, I observe attitudes and actions of counselors, probation representatives, prison officials, therapists, and other officials in terms of how these phenomena affect clients. I do not use this yardstick as a means of selection of items to be reported but rather as a perspective from which I view and report as much as possible.

Your request that we list six questions that observers should attempt to answer calls further attention to the basic question of the function of the observer. I am not convinced that the observer's most valuable contribution is the answering of questions, if that is what is meant by the request. The primary function of the observer, as I see it, is to record the proceedings as they happen. The records of the project in Atlanta and the others around the country, when seen as a whole, will answer some important questions. I, as one observer, am too close to a specific situation to answer basic questions. My interpretations in any given report are seen as tentative.

If you meant by this request that we list six questions that may be able to be answered as a result of the observer's work, then my response is as follows. We are in the business primarily of providing data for the research people in Seattle that will serve as the basis for answering several general questions, such as: what were the uniformities throughout the FOR project across local lines? What were the idiosyncratic features of some of the research projects? What were the dominant characteristics in the local projects most highly correlated with the reducing of recidivism? The last question assumes a comparison is to be made between projects as to effectiveness.

In trying to respond to your request for six specific questions I list the following items that should be looked for:

(1) What is the attitude of the counselor toward clients? Does he think the client can improve or does he regard the client as a clod with no hope?
(2) How creative have the counselors been in innovating their services? Have they been tied to old patterns in VR or have they really introduced new approaches?
(3) What is the picture of the administrative structure relative to VR, the probation office and the prison? Is the present power structure within these three agencies open to creative changes or is it threatened by change?
(4) In the case of the Atlanta project at least, what are the roles and functions of other specialists, such as sociologists, psychologists and psychiatrists? Observation in this area will help to determine whether contributions from these specialists on a continuing basis (aside from their therapy work) is desirable in the future.
(5) What are the expressions of the clients toward any aspect of attempted rehabilitation, whether prompted by research or not?
(6) What is the general climate existing among those involved in the project, that is, working relations, trust, enthusiasm, etc.?

In reply to Section B of your letter, it seems to me that the frequency of observation reports is a matter that should be determined primarily by the particular research project in question. The projects that have a number of features other than client-counselor experiences (such as our executive committee in Atlanta) would need more reports than projects which are, for the most part, limited to client-counselor experiences.

The format or structuring of the reports that I would suggest goes back to what I have discussed under Section A. The body of the report should be a description, following techniques developed in anthropology, of whatever features one is observing, written as soon after the events as possible. A second feature is also in order. Since the observer has seen at first-hand the phenomena which he has described, he should give his own evaluation of what he has seen in light of the research objectives. These evaluations should be given by him and read by others with the understanding that they are temporary, limited evaluations in response to the situation of the moment.

As for a specific approach to reporting observations, I have included the following items in most of the reports in this order: date, place, session observed, a general description of the meeting (to give an overview), the body of the report, and, finally, my impressions.

As an added function in my role of observer to the Atlanta project I have provided feedback to the executive meetings as process observer and feedback to individuals, when they have been interviewed or observed separately. Bill Crump has been most appreciative of the functions of the observer in Atlanta and has indicated a desire to use someone in this capacity in other ventures besides research.

The observer role is being used in a number of ways in business and I am hopeful that our struggles around the country in the FOR project might bring forth some insight into creative ways in which the observer can make contributions.

Sincerely,
Don Chandler

DGC/mc

Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program
U. S. Post Office & Court House
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15219

November 13, 1967

Mr. Claude C. Pangborn
Program Observer
Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program
P. O. Box 3126
2809 26th Avenue South
Seattle, Washington 98144

Dear Mr. Pangborn:

This is in reply to your memorandum of October 18, 1967 to all project observers. During my relatively brief association with the Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program, I have noticed that there are three types of reports that the observer can make, all of which seem equally important.

The first of these is a periodic progress report on the status of the project at any given time. These need not be submitted more frequently than once every four months and could be in an outline form. In these reports, the project observer would enumerate the number of clients involved in various activities offered by the program. For instance, he would tell how many were working, how many were in school or in training programs, how many were involved in psychotherapy, etc. In this way the program staff, such as you and Mrs. Matthews, could have a running account of the progress of any project.

The second type of report could be thought of as being of a crisis nature. In these reports, submitted whenever situations arose which warranted them, the observer would make note of any new conditions which effected, either adversely or beneficially, the functioning of the project. The types of events which would be reported in this category could be new state policies which may interfere with the functioning of the project, or new techniques which the project has adopted to try and make its functioning more effective.

The third type of report would be the most difficult to design but its value to the research aspect of the program could not be underestimated. In any type of research project, contaminating variables must be either eliminated or controlled to the point that the results of the research can be attributed to the experimental variables being studied. A primary responsibility of the project observer should be the detailed description of these contaminating variables in each project so that they can be taken into account when the data are being interpreted at the conclusion of the study. The degree of cooperation between the project and the federal probation office, the theoretical and technical frame of reference of the rehabilitation counselor, the types of non-BVR sponsored facilities available in the community and the degree of cooperation between them and the Project, etc., are all factors which will differ from city to city and can affect the outcome of the study in a subtle manner. I feel that approximately every two months, you should select one of these variables and list questions about them, the answers to which would provide a relatively complete descriptive picture. These questions should be submitted to the project observers.

I hope this helps you with your plans for the future obligations of the project observer. If I can help more in this matter, please feel free to contact me.

Sincerely yours,
Alex Levy
Observer Pittsburgh Project

AL: cml

FOR–CHICAGO

OBSERVER: Walter G. Rest

November 8, 1967

A. WHAT TO OBSERVE:

1. Factors in the determination to employ an innovative service:

   A. The nature of the diagnostic assessment of the client–who did it–what "tools" were employed.

   B. The results–the client's ability to use the innovative service. Did the innovative service contribute to the client's rehabilitation.

2. What are the intensive clients like:

   A. What are (or have been) their social, psychological, environmental and vocational problems. In other words, broadly speaking, how would we describe our clients?

3. How has the offender client perceived the Vocational Rehabilitation counselor and his function? Has the counselor been able to get across his specialized function and his desire and capacity to help the offender? What methods has he employed in doing so?

4. The role of the P/PO with the offender compared and contrasted to the role of the VRC.

   What I have in mind here is who does what with the offender. Taking counseling, for example, three broad areas of functioning are possible:

   A. The VRC has the major amount of face-to-face contact with the offender client and therefore carries major responsibility for all forms of counseling. The P/PO sees the client seldom and has a largely surveillance and supervising function in relation to the offender.

   B. The VRC seldom sees the client, but is a "provider of services." Major responsibility for face-to-face contacts and therefore for counseling the offender rests with the P/PO.

   C. Both P/PO and the VRC see the client frequently, with a well worked out definition of their role and functions, which is communicated to the client.

Does one model have a distinct advantage over the other models? Why and under what circumstances?

5. On the basis of our experiences thus far should we seek an expansion of DVR's interest in and service to the offender? What form should an expansion of services take? What would the preferable model be?

   The various persons connected with the FOR Projects would have only their experiences to go on in thinking about such a question, not empirical results. Nevertheless, these experiences are valuable and would perhaps provide knowledgeable opinion.

6. How do we define "rehabilitated"? When we say a client has been "rehabilitated vocationally" what do we mean? What factors are we considering in arriving at such a conclusion?

7. In a candid manner, can or will the VRC's tell us how they evaluate their skills in working with the offender? For example, have they regarded themselves as having all of the skills necessary to counsel with offenders? Where and in what areas do they sense lacks within themselves as having hindered their work with the offender-client? What skills do they wish they had that they do not now possess? What has the observer been able to observe about the skill of the VRC?

8. Clients assessment of the contact with DVR. It occurs to me that a simple questionnaire might be developed to get at the client's assessment of his contact with DVR. It might be administered to all closed cases where there has been a reasonable amount of service and/or contact between the client and the VRC. (There could be real problems in locating some offenders once supervision has ended.)

9. The Mandatory Releasee without supervision — with what success has he been involved in the program? Do we have any concrete data on why he was not reached? Any "observations"?

B. REPORTING:

1. FREQUENCY OF OBSERVERS' REPORTS: As often as is necessary with a stated minimum expectation of perhaps once a quarter; i.e., four reports per year.

2. FORMAT OR STRUCTURING: I believe that there should be as little structuring as possible so as to allow for individual writing styles and for the preparation of reports in a manner in which each individual can best express himself. Obviously, the Seattle staff may have special needs and request reports on specific subject matter from each of the projects. In the sense that this provides for some structuring, I am all for it — I think it is necessary and highly desirable. From your vantage point and from your review of all of the FOR projects what information and observations would be helpful?

WGR/bb

EXHIBIT J

November 20, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO:

FROM: Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program Observer

RE: SPECIAL OBSERVATIONS DURING REMAINDER OF THE FOR PROGRAM

During the San Antonio Conference the observers met to discuss their activities in FOR during the remaining life of the rehabilitation services phase of the program, i.e., February 28, 1969. It was agreed that suggestions made at that time were to be supplemented by further written suggestions after each observer had returned to his project and had a chance to discuss it with FOR staff. This has been accomplished. The topic of most interest concerned the attitudes, beliefs, opinions, perceptions of the offender client toward himself and the people and services involved in the FOR program with particular attention to any changes in these perceptions during and after participation in the program. It was decided that each project and project observer would be urged to conduct special observations in this matter but that other observations would also be encouraged if time permits.

Only those "Intensive" clients not now receiving FOR services are to be interviewed but include, if possible, those closed unsuccessful as well as successful. We realize that it will be very difficult for the observer to secure full client cooperation and it may be necessary (and often desirable) to meet with the client in places of his choosing. We hope to secure as many interviews as possible. The amount of time devoted to an interview may vary greatly but we would like an estimate of time used for the interview. As soon as an interview is completed the results should be recorded and the report sent at once (in duplicate) to the FOR research director.

No attempt will be made to make a statistical summary of these interview reports but rather to get some sense of client feelings and concepts and to note changes in this regard with attention to developing trends which may be noted and summarized.

It was considered possible that the observer might become aware of a need (or expressed need) for further vocational rehabilitation services. If so, he would certainly record and report this but it is preferred that the project observer not make recommendations to the FOR client.

The matter of structuring the interview and developing and adapting questions to individual clients for the purpose of securing the most valid and complete responses is a personal responsibility of the observer. It is desired that, whenever possible, questions which can be answered yes or no be avoided and questions which require client opinions, beliefs, evaluation qualities and expressions of feelings be used instead.

Each report should contain the following:

—Place and date of interview
—Name of Client
—Name of Interviewer
—How closed: Successful — Unsuccessful
—Approximate time used in interview.

The following topics should be explored and reported but additional ones may be added or developed and, if so, should also be reported.

A. How did the client perceive his own needs (vocational-educational, social, financial, emotional, etc.) at the time of his first introduction to FOR? Did his perceptions of these needs change appreciably during his association with FOR? Since closure? If so, in what way? What caused this change? Does he consider such changes beneficial? Why?

B. What was the client's opinion of the accuracy or completeness with which his (the client's) needs were perceived and evaluated by the VR counselor? By the probation/parole officer? In what ways were they similar? Dissimilar? Did this effect rehabilitation relationship? How?

C. What is the client's opinion regarding the effectiveness of FOR in meeting his needs? Upon what does he base his opinion? What needs were met? To what degree? What not met? Why not? How could his needs have been met more effectively? Does he consider he needs more rehabilitation services? Which? Why?

We anticipate difficulty in securing appointments for these interviews. The FOR program director and research director join me in requesting that all FOR personnel assist project observers in conducting this survey. Observations should be completed and reported as soon as possible.

Claude C. Pangborn, Program Observer
Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program

CCP: ba

APPENDIX H

CORRECTIONAL REHABILITATION: BOOM OR BUST?

Society's perception of criminals is changing. Criminals now can be seen as bad or sick. If they are bad, they require custody; if they are sick, they require treatment. The treatment versus custody controversy has raged in the corrections field for several decades, but today the treatment advocates appear to be winning. As a result, many new approaches to offender rehabilitation are being tried. One of these is correctional rehabilitation (CR), the application of vocational rehabilitation skills and services to the treatment of criminals.

The active interest of vocational rehabilitation agencies became feasible with the passage of the 1965 Amendments to the VR Act. When the Amendments added behavioral disabilities to physical and mental disabilities, many more persons became eligible for VR services. Simultaneously, more special correctional projects were being funded, the Rehabilitation Services Administration added a full-time staff person to advise state VR agencies on correctional rehabilitation and the Institute on Rehabilitation Services made a study in 1967 of the public offender. There was a presumption of activity in correctional rehabilitation, but the question remained, "To what extent have correctional rehabilitation programs been undertaken?"

Since the Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program (FOR) was designed to examine the effectiveness of CR, it seemed appropriate for our staff to investigate what programs now exist. Fifty-three states and territories were asked how involved in CR they were and what type of CR program they had. Forty-five agencies responded in time for this report.

What permits an extensive CR program?

The answers indicate that certain things should occur before a state has a *large scale* CR program. Obviously someone in the agency decides that this is a high priority program. Our surmise is that administrative assignment of the function is the second step. In turn, administrative assignment creates the conditions which precipitate complicated funding. Such funding eventually requires guarantee of clients and the guarantee of services; that is, written agreements between correctional and VR agencies. The presence of all these elements permits and requires increasing numbers of staff specialists.

Although a staff person with CR as his *only* responsibility is not essential to start the program, assignment of that area to a particular staff person is important. The removal of that person's other duties, leaving CR as his only task, would appear to be an eventual next step. *Four states are an exception* to this rule having a fairly active program, but no staff person designated as administrator. In these states, one person is probably, in effect, the administrator; he worked to start the program and he continues to direct it. Present and projected relationships between administrative patterns and staff size are clear indications that assignment of CR to a single person is necessary. States that have not delegated responsibility for CR have very few counselor specialists.

Those that have delegated CR to an administrator with multiple duties have more specialists, and the states that have an administrator whose only job is CR have the most specialists.

The 1975 projection shows that those states without CR administrators today will have programs only as large as those presently existing in states whose CR administrators have multiple duties. Furthermore, states that presently have multiple duty administrators will have, in 1975, programs as large as those existing today in states with single duty administrators. Consequently, administrative assignment of CR seems to precede real growth; and as growth continues, the program more and more demands a full-time administrator.

With the assignment of a full-time staff member, the time, and contacts necessary to arrange more intricate funding, may be available. A VR counselor can't make these arrangements even though he has knowledge of the need, and an agency director usually isn't available for the discussions that precipitate such arrangements even though he has the power to actuate them. A middle-line staff person is needed to mediate between these two extremes of knowledge and power. For example, we recently had a phone conversation with a VR middle-management person who is slowly assuming responsibility for CR in his state. He had been talking to some VR counselors and correctional people who wanted to purchase the services of a group-work specialist, and he was talking to us about possible complicated funding arrangements. This illustrates the fact that administrative assignment of CR enhances the possibilities for complicated funding.

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION SPECIALISTS BY ADMINISTRATIVE ASSIGNMENT

	Year	*Administrator Whose Sole Duty is Correctional Rehabilitation*	*Administrator Whose Multiple Duties Include Correctional Rehabilitation*	*No Assignment to a Single Administrator*	*Total Average Number of Specialists*
Average Number of Specialized Vocational Rehabilitation Counselors	1968	10.7	3.0	1.9	5.2
	1970	14.1	5.1	3.0	7.5
	1975	17.6	7.1[b]	4.0	9.8[b]
Number of States Represented		14	21[a]	9	44

[a] One state, Georgia, is excluded here because their planned growth is so extreme that it makes averages meaningless. They plan to increase from 21 vocational rehabilitation counselors in 1968 to 49 in 1970 to 233 in 1975.

[b] If Georgia had been included in the above table, 7.1 would be 17.4 and 9.8 would be 14.8; obviously radically affected by the extreme increase in the 1975 projections.

Almost at the same point in the process as complicated funding is the writing of contracts or formal agreements. Agreements are present in each case where third-party funding alone is used and usually exist where third-party funds, plus other funds are used. Third-party funding requires a commitment from VR to the correctional agency, a commitment to continue the services and make proper use of the funds. When such complicated funding occurs, VR must have, for its own protection, a guarantee that this source of clients will continue. Consequently, complicated funding appears to go hand in hand with agreed-upon guarantees of client referral, client service and proper use of funds.

Guarantees of clients and services imply the availability of VR counselors to provide services to those clients. Since the actual number of CR counselors provides a *rough* estimate of the total extent of CR programs, the present and planned number deserves more detailed reporting.

In many states, the CR counselors have been specialists, not general caseload counselors; yet, the trend in 57% of the states seems to be toward the use of both specialized and general caseload counselors. Since this trend was unanticipated in the survey, the reported number of specialist positions planned for 1970 and 1975 gives an underestimate of the actual number who will be counseling offenders in the future.

By talking with staff persons in our home state, Washington, we found that the number of counselors presently in CR was also an underestimate. They neglected to incorporate, for example, the counselors dealing with city jail alcoholics and ghetto clients, many of whom are offenders. These counselors were not counted because they are not structurally a part of the CR program. Thus, the increasing use of the general caseload counselor and the specialist-counselor working outside the CR structure should be considered in assessing the extent of CR programming.

The study indicates 250 CR specialists are working in the forty-five states included in our survey. Slightly over 60% (160) are in nine states which have ten or more counselors. By 1970, 380 specialists are expected; this is an increase of 52% (131 positions). Seven states will gain 94% (124) of the new specialists, but four of those were among the nine states with the largest number of specialists already on the job.

By 1975, 665 specialists are anticipated, a 74% increase over 1970 and a 166% increase over 1968. A mere five states will pick up 84% of the 1970-1975 increase (239 positions), with one state alone accounting for almost 65% of the increase (184).

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF STATES BY TYPE OF CURRENT AND PROJECTED PUBLIC OFFENDER CASELOADS

		PROJECTED USE			
	Caseload Type	*General Caseload Counselors*	*Specialized Caseload Counselors*	*Combined General and Specialized*	*Total*
CURRENT USE	General Caseload Counselors	6	2	5	13
	Specialized Caseload Counselors	0	11	18	29
	Combined General and Specialized	0	0	2	2
	TOTAL	6	13	25	44*

*One state did not answer the question fully.

In 1975, the eight states with a planned staff of twenty-five or more CR specialists will have over 70% of the specialist positions. Right now, those same states have 50% of the specialists, and seven of the eight also plan to use regular counselors in serving public offenders. These eight states will obviously have a large program and be heavily involved in the rehabilitation of the public offender if their plans are implemented.

How extensive is each state's program?

Just as the eight states planning for a large number of CR counselors can be set off from the rest, each state's program can be assessed to measure the extent of CR. Using administrative assignment, complicated funding, agreements, and numbers of counselors as criteria, four groups of states emerge. Arranged by degree of programming and given labels identifying the priority they give CR, we found eleven high priority, eleven medium priority, fourteen questionable priority and nine low priority states.

The high priority states have assigned CR to one administrator. Although he may, in some cases, have other duties, his major responsibility is CR. These states have written agreements between themselves and at least one correctional agency. They have arranged funding for CR through either third-party matching funds or some complicated combination of all possible sources of funds. They have an average of seventeen counselor-specialists at work and plan an average of sixty by 1975.

The medium priority states frequently have an administrator with responsibility for CR as one of his several tasks. They have a written agreement with a correctional agency, and their funding is usually complex. These states average almost five specialists each and plan an average of seventeen by 1975.

The questionable priority states also have CR assigned to a staff person, but they have finalized fewer formal agreements, and more frequently use uncomplicated funding. These states have about two counselor specialists each and plan between six and seven by 1975.

The low priority states are as likely to have no administrator for CR as they are to have someone for whom this program is one of his several duties. These states have either informal agreements or none at all; their funding arrangements are simple; and they have an average of less than one counselor per state. This group may be getting a number of referrals from corrections, but they have no special program in CR. In fact, only one low priority state has plans for CR by 1975.

One factor that prevents much discrimination among these four groups is time. Seventy percent of the states began to receive and accept spasmodic referrals on a limited basis during 1966. Approximately the same percentage began to discuss agreements with correctional agencies at the same time. Since nearly a year generally elapses from the beginning of discussions to the actual implementation of an agreement, expanded services on a regular basis did not begin in most cases until 1967. Even if the service begun was quite extensive, most agencies have not been involved long enough to make many program adjustments as a result of acquired knowledge. With the 1975 projections of CR involvement made by the states in this study, can VR hope to serve the total offender population adequately?

The President's Crime Commission reports that in 1965 the total number of arrests for index crimes was 2,780,015. This figure is a gross underestimate of crimes committed that year and also an underestimate of the number of criminals arrested. Hence, we can use the number of index crimes as a conservative estimate of one year's total of offenders.

If only 684 VR specialists are at work in 1975, and if, with their general caseload counterparts, they account for 50 rehabilitations per year, only 34,200 public offenders will be rehabilitated each year. This number is only slightly over 1% of the offender population. Using a ten-year-old estimate under conditions of a rising crime rate, it is apparent that even the most ambitious 1975 plans can only be a token effort in the field.

TABLE 3

DEGREE OF CORRECTIONAL REHABILITATION PROGRAMMING BY STAFFING PATTERNS, NUMBER AND TYPE OF AGREEMENTS, FUNDING ARRANGEMENTS AND NUMBER OF VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION SPECIALISTS

	STAFFING PATTERNS			NUMBER AND TYPE OF AGREEMENTS				FUNDING ARRANGEMENTS		NUMBER OF VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION SPECIALISTS			
Degree of Involvement	Sole Duties of One Person	One of the Duties of One Person	No One Person's Duty	>1 Written	≤1 Written	Informal	None	3rd Party or Combination	Section 2 or Grant Monies	1968 Average	1968 Range	1975 Average*	1975 Range*
HIGH PRIORITY													
N	8	3	None	6	5	None	None	11	None	16.0	8-34	60.0	5-233
%	72.0	28.0		54.0	45.0			100.0					
MEDIUM PRIORITY													
N	2	6	3	3	5	3	None	9	2	4.0	2-6	18.0	8-50
%	18.0	54.0	28.0	28.0	45.0	28.0		81.0	19.0				
QUESTIONABLE PRIORITY													
N	4	9	1	4	4	5	1	9	5	1.6	0-6	7.6	3-17
%	28.0	64.0	7.0	28.0	28.0	35.0	7.0	64.0	36.0				
LOW PRIORITY													
N	None	4	5	None	None	3	6	None	9	0.6	0-3	2.0**	?-2**
%		44.0	56.0			33.0	67.0		100.0				
TOTAL													
N	14	22	9	13	14	11	7	29	16				
%	31.0	49.0	20.0	29.0	31.0	24.0	15.0	64.0	36.0				

*Only based on those states making projections.
**Only one state in this group made a projection into 1975.

N.B. Percentages may not add to 100.0 due to rounding

What kinds of offender clients is VR serving?

Every agency was asked to describe, in a short paragraph, the characteristics of their *preferred offender client.* Some states readily admitted that they had not yet decided what their "ideal" public offender client was. As one state (Iowa) said, "... since we don't have an adequate basis on which to make judgments, we are attempting to work with as many (offenders) as we can until the more intensive and extensive experiences permit us to do a more sophisticated job of prediction." Another five states said they had no preferences as to the type of client they served and six gave no answer. Whether they also found their program so new that they were unwilling to be committed or in fact had no preference, we do not know.

However, thirty-one states were more explicit. Ten of these made statements indicating a judgment on referral sources: they specified youthful and first offenders, adult parolees and jail inmates. Another eleven states made judgments related to acceptability criteria; ten preferred a highly motivated, cooperative client; one, the vocationally handicapped. In fact, forty-two percent of all those who answered the question specifically referred to the motivated, cooperative client in some fashion or other. Sometimes this preference was added to other more detailed desires. The last ten states were more interested in disability, giving preference to clients with lower IQs, or avoiding alcoholics, for example.

Actually, the kind of public offender receiving service is affected by referral sources, acceptability criteria, and disability definitions as well as by perception of the "ideal" client. All of these should be logically consistent with one another. However, when answers to questions on these subjects were examined, consistency was not always found.

VR usually defines its pool of clients by cultivating referral sources. Referral sources within the public offender domain may be prisons, parole agencies, probation services, juvenile courts, local jails, and agencies dealing with the pre-delinquent, such as schools and public welfare.

Over 75% of the states turn to prison and/or parole agencies for referrals and consequently serve imprisoned and/or released felons. Sixty percent take referrals from probation services, 35% from jails and 20% from agencies serving the pre-delinquent. The states which accept referrals from prisons and/or parole agencies are quite likely to accept referrals from other sources as well. In fact, only 5% of the states serve prisoners only. About 15% of the states serve offenders referred by all varieties of public offender agencies, but the two most common combinations are referrals from all but the pre-delinquent sources (22% of the states) and from all but the pre-delinquent sources and the jails (21%).

The preference for the prison and the juvenile referrals is understandable. For one, the prison offers the same controlled treatment environment as the mental hospital. Such a setting is often considered ideal from a treatment point of view, but contains the hazards of artificial change. Also, prisoners are isolated and know it; upon release, they usually reject the possible benefits of prison programs. While VR is a community-based agency, one of whose skills comes from making productive use of community resources, how many will place a man with a prison welding course in another training program on the outside? The agency is more likely to try to find him a welding job, just what he may not want.

The juvenile appeals to VR because, "The younger we change them, the longer the payoff." Yet, juveniles are often angry and bitter and thus more difficult to rehabilitate. Some studies indicate they react most positively to intense community supervision of the kind that provides them with adequate adult-role models. Yet, VR counselors with large caseloads do not ordinarily have the kind of time or skills required for that degree of intense interaction.

Jail inmates and pre-delinquents were less often served and this, too, is understandable. Jail inmates are usually short-termers and many of them are chronic offenders like the drunk. Jails, however, are often stepping stones to more serious criminal activity so that many now being served in prison might have been reached earlier in a jail rehabilitation program.

Pre-delinquent programs are also preventive, but this group is one of the most difficult to define. States with rehabilitation programs for potential high school dropouts may be reaching some pre-delinquents, but few of these programs are considered a part of CR.

It seems as though VR's choice of referral sources should be re-evaluated; that is, the less common choices (jail inmates and pre-delinquents) might be easier to deal with once the VRC's get beyond their surface difficulties. Some awareness of this seems apparent in the restrictions certain states place on their CR programs. Those states with minimum programs serve no offenders or all offenders; "all" probably meaning those clients obtained by spasmodic referral from corrections. But, the states with more extensive programs tend to serve fewer kinds of offenders. In order to develop an extensive CR program, perhaps an agency needs first to choose a manageable portion of the offender population, and second, slowly to expand its program as staff and competence increase.

In the VR system, a potential client's acceptance hinges on the counselor's assessment of his feasibility. Therefore, acceptance is, in many respects, more crucial than referral, and determining acceptability of offender clients with behavioral disorders is a difficult decision. Agencies were asked which was more important in this decision, vocational problems or client motivation.

Seventeen states indicated that vocational handicap was the most important consideration, twenty-one indicated cooperativeness, and seven were uncommitted. Most stated that they would have made the same choice if the question had referred to regular clients; only eleven states made a different choice for public offender clients.

The use of vocational handicap as the most important acceptability criteria is in keeping with vocational rehabilitation's role. Vocational handicap is, in fact, a necessary condition for service. Despite that fact, almost half the states indicated client cooperation as the primary determinant of acceptability. Yet, cooperation can hardly be used to determine acceptability of the behaviorally disabled client. His very disability makes him uncooperative. Perhaps to develop an extensive CR program, an agency needs to see motivation as a treatment problem and vocational handicap as defining the agency's role; hence, vocational handicap becomes the more important acceptability criteria.

We assumed that behavioral disabilities were common among offender clients when we asked about acceptability. Most states agreed. Eighty-five percent stated that the majority of their offender clients had behavioral disabilities. Most of these states saw other forms of mental handicaps, such as mental retardation, psycho-neurosis and alcoholism, as being the most common secondary disability. Very few states (five) perceived some physical disability as the most common handicap. These five saw some other physical disability as secondary. No state reported both mentally and physically disabled clients among the offender population.

Referral sources, feasibility criteria, and disability, all define the client group. The choices overlap each other and may be contradictory. Referral sources limit the kinds of clients to felons, either in prison, on parole or on probation, and juveniles. *Acceptability criteria limit the number accepted from referral in over half the cases to the well-motivated, cooperative client.* And, disability expectations, primarily of a behavioral nature, define the client's problem further and affect the service given him. Perception of the ideal client further limits acceptance in as many ways as there are to describe that client. Based on majority opinion, the perception of CR programs seems to be service to cooperative felons with *behavioral disabilities.*

What services are being rendered?

VR services are usually reported in seven major categories: diagnostic services, hospitalization, surgery and treatment, prosthesis, training, maintenance, and tools. The casework process is divided into multiple statuses, ranging from referral to plan development to training to closed employed. The services offered after a plan is written include all the possibilities except diagnostic. The services offered before a plan is written are often quite limited, yet the time between referral and the writing of a plan can be quite long. In 1965 RSA data, we found that getting from referral to acceptance alone usually took two months.

Since FOR staff members have become increasingly convinced of the need for prompt service to offender clients, we asked about services offered offenders in these early stages of the VR process (especially statuses 02, 04, 06, 10, and 14). Twenty-five states use only some of these statuses. Five don't put CR clients in the applicant status; seven don't use plan development; and thirteen don't use counseling and guidance. Most states used either both forms of evaluation (6-month and 18-month) or neither one.

The real question, though, is not whether a status is used but what services other than diagnostic ones can be offered within those statuses. Of the forty states putting offenders in the status of applicant, eight offer a variety of services ranging from maintenance to some training. Of the thirty-three states using the 6-month evaluation status, thirty-one provide a variety of services; the use of the 18-month evaluation is almost exactly the same. Of the thirty-eight states using plan development, twenty offer services other than diagnostic while in this status. Of the thirty-two states putting clients in counseling and guidance, fifteen offer a variety of services.

The applicant and plan development statuses were the most frequently used, but for fifty to eighty percent of the states using them, only diagnostic services could be offered. Only in the 6-month and 18-month evaluation statuses were a wide variety of services offered by most of the states using them. However, nearly a third of the states don't use these statuses.

Despite the differing amounts of CR programming, many states give highly similar answers to these questions about their program's operation. It would appear that an agency may be doing substantially nothing with CR programs at present, but that their future program would follow their usual approach. If, for example, an agency normally adopts the most progressive approach to its clients, accepts new policies and tailors procedures to fit clients, then it would be expected to do the same with this particular clientele.

If service of an immediate and tangible nature is required to keep the offender around until some more long-range service can be provided, then, at the time of this survey at least a third of the states do not have this option. Perhaps, it is fortunate that most CR programs seek cooperative clients, often in a prison where the client does not have the option to leave.

Conclusion

The question was, "What is the extent and kind of correctional rehabilitation program available in each state?"

Four degrees of CR programming were found through the survey. In one, states are still handling offenders as general referrals and apparently plan no specific program. In the next, states are beginning to seriously consider and start the development of a CR program. In the third, states have structured CR programs and plan to expand them in the near future. In the fourth, states are already quite involved in CR and have been for some time.

The kind of CR programs often reflect the agency's limited knowledge of the offender's problems. Programming is also burdened with contradictory expectations and policies. Referral sources, as presently developed, provide felons as clients even though descriptions of ideal clients sound like people whose brush with the law was either from ignorance or unusual circumstances. Most respondents to our survey repeatedly expressed concern about client cooperation, but the limited services they offer in the early, and often lengthy, stages of the VR process are rarely inducements to cooperate.

Much interest has been generated in service to offenders from the federal to the most local level of VR, most of it occurring since 1965. Most CR programs are new, usually less than two years old. Some see VR as one answer to high crime rates. Yet for all the interest and hope aroused, the most optimistic future state plans, and the expected increase in the present rate of referrals from corrections, only an infinitesimal proportion of the offender population will ever darken VR's door.

As for the offenders we do serve, what we can find out about the nature of the state programs is not exactly encouraging. Given what we know about the nature of the offender client, not many will be able to tolerate the long waiting periods before tangible services are available, and others will find the delayed gratification of VR hard to accept.

Perhaps the greatest hope lies in an entirely different direction; not in what VR can do for the offender, but in what the offender can do for VR. VR has found and will continue to find that, in contrast to its previous clients, the CR client is a rebel. His deviant behavior leads him to push hard for what he wants, to unmask phonies and to be generally irritating. His previously frustrating and degrading experiences with helping agencies have reinforced this pattern. He won't be a silent consumer, but this very fact may so unsettle VR agencies who decide to take him on that they will reassess their techniques (even as applied to other clients).

The youthfulness and enthusiastic approach of most CR programs does mean that the calcification that comes with age hasn't set in. Those agencies deciding to give CR high priority, can still change as experiences are gained if the higher administrators, who are less involved, also feel some of the pressure generated by the client. Continued re-evaluation of the program, its scope and effectiveness, will be essential if this feedback is to occur, and if our clients, offenders or otherwise, are to be served to the best of our abilities.

Correctional rehabilitation may be painful, but it may be good for us.

EXHIBIT A

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENT STATES

	C.R. EMPHASIS		NO. OF C. R. SPECIALISTS		NO. OF WRITTEN AGREEMENTS	FUNDING ARRANGEMENTS					Administrative Responsibility
STATE	Special Caseload	Regular Caseload	1968	1975		R & D Grants	Innov. Grants	Reg. VR Funds	Exp. Grants	3rd Party Funds	
Alabama	X		5	12	0		X	X			Partial
Alaska		X	0	3	0		X				Sole
Arizona	X		0	Unk.	1			X	X	X	Partial
Arkansas		X	2	8	1		X	X			Partial
California	X		26	40	4		X	X		X	Sole
Colorado	X		6	10	1	X		X			No one
Connecticut	X		1	5	0		X				Partial
Delaware		X	0	0	0			X			No one
Dist. of Columbia	X		5	25	0				X		Partial
Florida		X	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	Partial
Georgia	X		21	233	4	X		X			Partial
Guam		X	–	–	0			X			No one
Hawaii	X		3	8	1					X	No one
Idaho		X	1	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	Partial
Illinois		X	1	–	0	X					No one
Indiana		X	0	0	0		X				No one
Iowa	X		8	–	2			X		X	Sole
Kentucky	X		3	Unk.	1			X		X	Sole
Louisiana		X	0	0	0	–	–	–	–	–	No one
Maine	X		1	–	1					X	No one
Maryland	X		6	18?	1					X	No one
Massachusetts		X	0	10-25	0			X			Sole
Michigan		X	6	Unk.	0		X	X			Sole
Minnesota	X		1.5	15	0			X		X	Partial
Mississippi	X		2	12	2			X			Partial
Missouri	X		2	Unk.	4			X			Partial
Montana	None yet	None yet	0	3	0			X		X	Partial
Nebraska	X		1	3	2					X	Partial
Nevada		X	0	2	0				X		Partial
New Hampshire	X		3	Unk.	3					X	Partial
New Mexico		X	–	–	0			X			Partial
North Carolina	X		10	Unk.	2			X	X	X	Sole
Oklahoma	X		10	Unk.	1	X				X	Sole
Oregon	X		8	12	1			X		X	Sole
Pennsylvania	X		6	50	2		X	X			Partial
Rhode Island	X		3	Unk.	0			X			Partial
South Carolina	X		12	Unk.	3					X	Partial
Tennessee	X	X	12	5	2					X	Partial
Texas	X	X	34	75	1	X		X	X	X	Sole
Utah	X		4	16	2					X	Sole
Virginia	X		22	28	1			X	X	X	Sole
Washington	X		13	30	1					X	Sole
West Virginia	X		2	10	1					X	Partial
Wisconsin	X		6	25	0		X	X			Sole
Wyoming	X		1	–	3			X		X	Partial

KEY:

– = Did not respond to that section of questionnaire
Sole = An administrator with no other assigned duties
Partial = An administrator with correctional rehabilitation as part of his assigned duties

Funding Arrangements:
R & D Grants = Research & Demonstration Grants
Innov. Grants = Innovation Grants
Reg. VR Funds = Funds used for regular VR services
Exp. Grants = Expansion Grants
3rd Party Funds = Funds earned through a third-party cooperative agreement

EXHIBIT B

STATES WHOSE QUESTIONNAIRES WERE RETURNED TOO LATE TO BE INCLUDED IN THE ANALYSIS

	Correctional Rehabilitation Emphasis	*Number of Correctional Rehabilitation Specialists*		*Number of Written Agreements*	*Funding Arrangements*	*Administrative Responsibility*
		1968	*1975*			
NEW JERSEY	Regular	6	25	1	Expansion Reg. VR	Partial
OHIO	Specialized	9	20	2	3rd Party	Partial
VERMONT	Regular	1	5-7	1 in process 2 considered	Reg. VR 3rd Party	Partial

EXHIBIT C

*States who did not return questionnaires

Kansas
New York
North Dakota

Puerto Rico
South Dakota

*Inadvertently the Virgin Islands was not sent a questionnaire.

APPENDIX I

PROJECT COMMUTING AREAS

Project	Grant No.	Commuting Area
Atlanta, Georgia	RD 2078-G	Fulton County only
Chicago, Illinois	RD 2082-G	Cook, Dupage, Kane, Lake and Will Counties
Denver, Colorado	RD 2081-G	Entire State of Colorado
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	RD 2077-G	Allegheny County only
San Antonio, Texas	RD 2080-G	Bexar County only
Seattle, Washington	RD 2079-G	King, Kitsap, Pierce, Snohomish and Thurston Counties
Springfield, Illinois	RD 2083-G	Sangamon and 42 other central Illinois Counties. This area was reduced in October 1966 to include only the following counties: Cass, Christian, Dewitt, Logan, Macon, Macoupin, Madison, Mason, McLean, Menard, Montgomery, Morgan, Peoria, Sangamon, St. Clair and Tazewell Counties
Tampa, Florida	RD 2186-G	Hernando, Hillsborough, Pasco, Pinellas and Polk Counties

APPENDIX J

ADOLPH M. WHITING, M.D.
BLAKELEY PSYCHIATRIC GROUP
2271 NORTHEAST FIFTY-FIRST STREET
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98105

October 11, 1968

Mr. Percy Bell
Program Director
Federal Offenders'
Rehabilitation Program
Areis Building, Room 432
2366 Eastlake Avenue East
Seattle, Washington 98102

Dear Mr. Bell:

I have been continually delighted by the opportunity to work with the Federal Offenders' Rehabilitation Program during the past two and a half years for two basic reasons: the program in its design fulfills a basic requirement of social service, it adequately satisfies the needs of a client at the proper time; and secondly, the endeavor was undertaken by a group of exceptionally qualified people. While at the San Antonio conference, I watched a transition between the early exploratory group and what promises to become a more standardized set of organizations attempting to continue the work of the pioneers. While participating in the "Eligibility and Referral" discussion at San Antonio, I watched the bureaucracy flounder in its efforts to reconcile old rules with an indeterminate future. It is self-evident that practically every Federal offender can somehow be fitted into the eligibility criteria which are enumerated in the booklet "Rehabilitation of the Public Offender." Chapter 2, page 24 of the booklet starts the listing of "Behavioral Disorders" as defined by the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual. It would be almost impossible to exclude the ex-convict from this group. Our discussion group went to the point of talking about people who were incidental or accidental criminals, practically innocent of any wrongdoing, and with "normal" personalities in order to exclude anyone from eligibility.

This program is a courageous effort. It has run into difficulties in the past and it is certain to run into greater ones in the future. Because it deals primarily with those who are generally considered "undeserving" I think it not unusual that I should feel some envy of the offender for being given the opportunities so often denied the honest, law-abiding citizen. I think this would be a common reaction among the administrators of a program such as this, especially if they have not had the experience of working at the counseling level before obtaining administrative jobs. I am aware that this line of thought does not represent the best thinking in our bureaucracy, but I'll follow it in an effort to better outline the needs of the client and the qualifications of the counselors.

The difficult thing for the untrained mind to grasp in dealing with the offender is that the offender runs away from the opportunities presented to him. The training guide, "Rehabilitation of the Public Offender" deals with this question beginning on page 15 with "The Values Problem," but I think the approach of the Guide is not quite adequate when it says, in speaking of the counselor's attitude, on page 16, "He needs also to recognize that he can't be of much help to a person he fears or actively dislikes." The successful counselor, I believe, must have the capacity to actively dislike something about the client. He may restrain the expression of this feeling in his contact with the client, but at some point in his relationship with him he must be able to consciously and fully feel dislike. It is through this process, if fully carried through, that he becomes capable of discriminating between what is likable and understandable in the client and what is disliked so that he can eventually deal with the troublesome aspect of the client's personality. If this is not accomplished at some time in the relationship with the client, the situation remains one in which the counselor feels unlike for the client. When that happens it is only good fortune or the client's ability at self-confrontation and his determination to use the services of the counselor which can bring the venture to a satisfactory conclusion. The counselor must be able to confront the client eventually with his ineffective and destructive behavior pattern. James West, on page 48 of the Guide, says that the confrontation must be "objective, nonmoralistic, and without punitive motivation on the part of the counselor, as a means of helping the client understand himself." This ultimately benign attitude towards the client is achieved, I think, through a clear-minded, self-confident, unpitying and largely unself-conscious reaction to the client. This brings me to a general statement about the vocational rehabilitation counselors with whom I have worked.

They are generally in their middle years, they have been successful at life, at least in the sense that they have resolved the major difficulties they have confronted. They are service oriented, and I think they are men who enjoy one of the toughest challenges a man can meet intellectually and emotionally; that is, changing the personalities of fellow men who are alienated, antagonistic, ignorant, self-centered, and, most unpleasant of all, so destitute of a sense of history and destiny that those who engage in an effort at a close relationship with them feel at a loss, without moorings, or a goal? in essence, without that quality which makes us peculiarly human.

Not all counselors are able to follow the course which I have indicated, and no amount of teaching or education is going to change the personality of the counselor for the purpose of dealing with the offender. The offender constitutes an extremely dificult group to deal with. The counselor can be taught the principles, strategies and techniques of counseling forever, but unless he has certain personality qualifications he should specialize in dealing with other kinds of personalities. Kindness, gentleness, altruism, understanding are not adequate. The counselor needs the capacity to get indignant at the right point in his relationships with the client. On page 41 of the Guide there starts a chapter entitled, "Counseling the Public Offender" and there is a brief description of "two not very distinct schools of thought" on how best to relate to the offender. One school holds that an effort to alter the basic personality structure of the offender is a waste of time. The second school holds that the offender must be confronted with his antisocial behavior and must be motivated to change it. It is my impression that this is an academic question posed because some counselors are unable to readily change from one procedure to the other. On the same page the writer says, "One counselor serving offenders suggests that the approach outlined for the first school is most suitable for the rehabilitation counselor to use, while the approach outlined for the second school is most appropriate for the cooperating parole or probation agent to follow." I think the counselor or the writer has reversed the roles since the parole or probation agent is more likely to occupy the authoritarian role demanded by the first "school." The counselor must, in my opinion, be able to shift subtly and indistinguishably from one role to the other.

In general I agree with Mr. West's theses in his article, "Rehabilitative Counseling in Correctional Settings." I think my criticisms are more in the nature of elaborations rather than disagreement. On page 50 of the Guide he says, "As suggested above, the counselor should attempt to remain reality oriented rather than to deal with the analysis of fantasy." There is a fine point here. I agree, the counselor should not deal "with the analysis of fantasy" except that he should realize that the offender often lives in a fantasy world. His inadequacies do not yield him the satisfactions that most people obtain from real life. He therefore substitutes fantasy, and if this element is carefully examined, mainly from inferences from the client's behavior, it will become evident that the client lives in a world that is unreal. His exploits, his bravado, his efforts at enrichment of the prison experience deal mostly with fantasy experience rather than reality. The client keeps this fantasy world secret too. Its revelation leads to a self-confrontation with his inadequacies, a painful experience which he naturally avoids. It is very difficult, and requires great sensitivity to confront him with his fantasies and at the same moment guide and assist him to real satisfactions.

I think implicit in my statement is the idea that the counselor dealing with offenders is no longer operating in the field of rehabilitation. His job should be renamed in order to assist a clarification of the usual vocational rehabilitation eligibility and referral rules, to better accommodate the organization to the job the counselor does. The only rationale I can see for the use of the term "rehabilitation" is to assume that the damage to the client's personality occurred so very early in life that the counselor has the job of rehabilitating a child. Implicit in this notion is the idea that the client also needs much education and retraining so that inadequate habits of living are replaced by effective ones. I have no suggestion at the moment for a good title for the counselor.

My comments so far have dealt with clients who have become the prime concern of counselors because no other professional group has the facilities to change them on any outpatient basis as does the counselor in the FOR Program. The counselors have been trained and experienced in the utilization of various facilities which are adaptable toward accomplishing this goal, and the experience of the counselor leaves him inclined to adopt the directive and guiding attitude which the client needs. In order to further delineate the prime area of function of the counselor, I'll outline some broad categories of clients which fall outside his major field of interest, mainly because other disciplines have pre-empted them.

First of all, I think there are offenders who do not need treatment. During the time they were in prison their situation changed or their attitudes have changed toward their situation so that their problem is resolved. I think these people can be evaluated and sent on their way without excessive attention from the counselor. Another group includes primarily psychotics who have not fully recovered from their reaction, who I believe are best handled by psychiatrists working with the counselors. These people, I think, should be transferred to the medical setting. A third group includes neurotics whose crimes are probably one-occurrence events who are motivated to examine themselves and resolve their conflicts. I think they can be treated by psychotherapists from any of the usual disciplines such as psychiatry or psychology or social work, if the individual therapist is qualified. Another group includes the untreatables such as the so-called "habitual offender" or the near psychotic person with a chronic psychosomatic disorder which has reached an irreversible stage and who may be addicted to alcohol or drugs. The large majority include the behavior disorders which I have in this letter attempted to define in terms of their personality patterns in relation to the counselors.

Whatever assistance the counselor gets in preliminary classification of cases, he has to remain a diagnostician because errors will be made in initial evaluation, or the client's reaction may shift into another pattern from the original one evidenced. In fact it is necessary, in many cases, that the conflicts previously manifested in behavior disorders be sufficiently internalized by the client so that he is motivated to change because he feels anxiety and responsibility. This change can lead to psychotic, neurotic, or psychosomatic reactions with which the counselor needs assistance.

Fortunately, the facilities of the bureaucracy which back the counselor can be used to assist the client in resolving his conflict with the minimum of trouble so that he does not settle into a chronic state of illness or revert to the offender role.

In summary, I think the counselor must be a diagnostician, which means he must be familiar with the psychodynamics and pathology of his special group and acquainted with the signs of other disorders so he can refer them to others; he must be able to treat his group and change behavior which means he should know the psychopathology of his clients in order to reverse or ameliorate their reactions; and he must develop the attitudes of a true professional which implies that he takes responsibility for his decisions and actions and feels this responsibility to his client and not to a "school" of theory or technique. He need not be a psychiatrist, physician, or psychologist. He can specialize as they have by virtue of the treatment techniques available to them. But, like them, he should eventually develop confidence in the fact that he has certain knowledge, facilities, and techniques available to his discipline and not to others. Then he can fully collaborate with others. With this professional kind of orientation, I think he can avoid the schisms so prevalent among the proponents of schools of thought which say their particular techniques can solve all problems.

Given, then, a system which operates on the principle that people should be supplied with what they need when they need it, and talented people to carry out this program, I think administrators should be prepared to satisfy some unusual requests from their counselors. Training and maintenance should be provided. In addition, such things as false teeth, orthopedic appliances, birth control pills, obstetrical care, and hair styling appointments for an offender's wife should become commonplace requests from the counselors to the point that the minor problems of life should be set aside in order to leave the offender with the minimum of immediate preoccupations with which to occupy his mind and divert him from self-confrontation.

The administrator should be prepared to give to the point where he sees the offender start struggling against his rationalizations. He has then fulfilled the first requirement, to give what's needed.

The counselor then starts the difficult part of his job, and the administrator should know that the counselor is sometimes in a position like that of someone trying to steer a bull by his tail. His hold on things is somewhat less than satisfactory. The administrator must be patient, and along with the probation or parole officer can do the things which help to corral the offender, to subdue his violent struggles against restriction and direction, to provide some external forces which make my simile of the bull inadequate, and translate the situation to something human.

At this point we need another research program which emphasizes the role of the administrators and the probation and parole officers. To date their potential contributions have been unexplored and their roles undefined. I think the job will be incomplete unless this is done. In the process of working out this aspect of the correctional process, we'll make the kind of discoveries that will yield the results we desire.

Sincerely,
ADOLPH M. WHITING, M.D.

APPENDIX K

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF MATERIALS REPRODUCED THROUGH THE FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM INCLUDING THE PLANNING GRANT WHICH PRECEDED THE START OF THE FEDERAL OFFENDERS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

1. Original outline of Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program revised to June 25, 1965, 9 pages and cover letter.

2. Final draft of Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Collaborative Research Program, July 29, 1965, 32 pages.

3. Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program Operations Manual, October 1, 1965, revised September 1966, 43 pages.

4. Planning Vocational Rehabilitation Service for Disabled Federal Offenders, Progress Report of Planning Grant Period.

5. Final Report of the Planning Grant Period, April 1, 1965—October 31, 1965, published January 1966, 15 pages.

6. An Overview of the Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program presented to the 96th Congress of Corrections, Baltimore, Maryland, August 29-31, 1966, Mrs. Merlyn Matthews, Research Director, 10 pages.

7. Progress Report I, Federal Offenders Program for period November 1, 1965 to September 30, 1966, published November 196, 11 pages.

8. Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program — First Grant Period, November 1, 1965 to February 28, 1967, published May 1967, 26 pages.

9. Can Vocational Rehabilitation Agencies Meet the Challenge of Federal Offenders Rehabilitation?, June 1, 1967, 6 pages.

10. Changing Developments in Function & Work Concepts of FOR Program Personnel & Research Personnel, Claude C. Pangborn, Program Observer, July 13, 1967, 2 pages.

11. Analysis & Summary of Evaluation Reports Concerning the Denver FOR Conference, May 14-17, 1967, Claude Pangborn, Program Observer, August 31, 1967, 3 pages.

12. Progress Report II, Federal Offenders Program for period October 1, 1966 to September 30, 1967, published October 1967, 18 pages.

13. Newsletters:
    No. 1, January 18, 1966, 3 pages
    No. 2, March 11, 1966, 4 pages
    No. 3, May 31, 1966, 3 pages
    No. 4, July 20, 1966, 6 pages
    No. 5, November 15, 1966, 7 pages
    No. 6, April 18, 1967, 4 pages
    No. 7, February 1, 1968, 7 pages

14. Correctional Rehabilitation: Boom or Bust?, Mrs. Merlyn Matthews, Research Director, October 1968, 7 pages.

15. Summary of Group Reports from San Antonio FOR Conference, September 16-19, 1968, published November 1968, 3 pages.

16. Progress Report III, Federal Offenders Rehabilitation Program for period October 1, 1967 to September 30, 1968, published November 1968, 23 pages.

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